

BY THE AUTHOR OF *AMARNA SUNSET*

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Egypt from Golden Age
to Age of Heresy

Aidan Dodson



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To the memory of Cyril Aldred (1914–99) whose
writings first introduced me to Akhenaten

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PREFACE

This book in many ways serves as a prequel to my earlier volume, *Amarna Sunset*, published in 2009, which traced the history of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the high point of the reign of Akhenaten in the fourteenth century bc down to the accession of the first of the Rameside kings, nearly half a century later. The reign of Akhenaten and his ‘heretical’ religious reforms has for the past century been one of the most written-about topics in Egyptian history, the province not only of the archaeologist, the historian, and the theologian, but also the novelist, the dramatist, the filmmaker, the philosopher, and the crank (not to mention combinations of at least some of these categories!). Indeed, Akhenaten’s building of a brand-new capital city, Akhet-Aten—modern Tell el-Amarna, which has given its name to the king’s era—has also made him the object of studies in town planning as well.

One of the key elements that has drawn many of these individuals—together with a significant swathe of the Egyptophile population—to the man and his era has been the fact that his religious reforms focused on the cult of a sole god—the first such deity securely attested in human history. As such, Akhenaten has been seized by a number of modern monotheists as their own spiritual ancestor, with aspects of some present-day faiths reflected back onto assessments of the king

and his Aten cult. Linked to this, on the basis of the view in many Christian and Muslim societies that monotheism is by definition ‘good’ and polytheism is by definition ‘bad,’ the king and his god have often been given particularly positive assessments. Most notably, the early-twentieth-century Egyptologist James Henry Breasted lamented of Akhenaten that “there died with him such a spirit as the world had never seen before ... the world’s first *individual*.” Such views have passed into wider culture as ‘facts,’ and still strongly color pictures of Akhenaten, his family and times painted by those outside the academic Egyptological community. Indeed, negative assessments of Akhenaten by some modern Egyptologists have roused some enthusiasts to fury for “libeling” the “Father of Monotheism”! Such less positive views have in some cases been harnessed as alternate models for Akhenaten’s reforms in totalitarian political creeds such as Marxism-Leninism and fascism, which in many ways mimic monotheism in their insistence on a single ‘truth’ to which all other things must be subordinated.

Ultimately, however, the application of such models, reflecting religious approaches that date from only the past two millennia, and political ones that are but a century old, to data that is not only three-and-a-half millennia old, but that is also woefully incomplete, can be argued to be fundamentally flawed—except, perhaps, when using them simply as aids in considering how human beings may operate when confronted by rigid religio-political doctrine. Rather, Akhenaten and his times must be seen in the context of second-millennium-BC Egypt and the wider Near East—crucially as seen through the prism of the surviving evidence. The latter point is a key one: given the paucity of data, many assumptions have to be made to produce any kind of narrative, and any single item of new data can show a long-held and potentially crucial assumption to be wholly in error. For example, depictions of Akhenaten in positions of affection with a co-ruler have been the basis for confident statements as to Akhenaten’s homo- or bisexuality that have passed into popular ‘fact.’ However, the proof that one of his co-rulers was not only a woman but probably also his wife removes any basis for this ‘fact’—although, given the difficulty of unpicking popular ‘facts,’ it may be decades (at best!) before this aspect of Akhenaten disappears from the secondary and tertiary literature.

Another example of the limitations of evidence is the existence of the Amarna Letters, an archive of diplomatic correspondence found at Akhenaten’s capital. These documents shed a considerable amount of light on international relationships of the time—but suffer from two issues. One is whether this is an

entire archive, or merely a portion—and, if so, what kind of portion? The other is that it is the only archive of its type ever found in Egypt. Thus, we have issues of whether we are seeing a whole picture, or only a partial one, together with no means of telling how typical or atypical the kinds of events described or alluded to actually are. Also lacking in many cases are clear indications of the date or even the relative sequence of letters. Accordingly, it is impossible to make any definitive assessment of the totality of Akhenaten's foreign policy or whether it followed or deviated from the approaches pursued by his immediate predecessors and successors. In spite of this, the letters have been used, in conjunction with assumptions derived from the aforementioned religious models, to confidently describe—approvingly or disapprovingly, depending on the author—a pacifist foreign policy directly derived from the king's religious philosophy.

Accordingly, the present book is intended to place the reign of Akhenaten in its Egyptian religious and political context through a study of the country's history from the latter years of Amenhotep II, which concluded the first era of imperial expansion, initiated by Thutmose I, through to the twelfth year of Akhenaten's reign, in which the apparent triumph of the new order was marked by a great festival at which gifts from the known world were presented to the king. In doing so, the aim is to tease out the key themes from earlier reigns that contributed to Akhenaten's 'revolution,' and thus how far the Amarna Period represented something wholly new, and how far it represented evolution of pre-existing elements. It also aims to provide an up-to-date summary of views and discoveries relating to the period, including controversial DNA studies that seemed initially to solve a number of genealogical issues but which are now under attack, not only from Egyptologists, but from geneticists as well. In doing so, the intent is to ensure that all key material is referenced and that where the conclusions reached differ substantively from those of other scholars, a clear indication is given. For this reason, the questions raised by the DNA work have been addressed in detail in appendix 4, which also provides what seems at present to be the most likely genealogy of the royal family.

Much of this book was written while I held the William K. and Marilyn M. Simpson Chair of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo for the spring semester 2013; I am accordingly most grateful to the university for this honor and for its fine library facilities. I am also most appreciative of having been housed, in Zamalek, within a hundred meters of the excellent library of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo!

As is always the case in writing a book, one also falls into the debt of various friends, family, and colleagues. For images, I am particularly grateful to Martin Davies for his customary willingness to allow me to liberally plunder his photographic archive; the late Bob Partridge for allowing me to use some of his splendid images; Salima Ikram for myriad favors; Ray Johnson for some important last-minute factual updates; Maria Nilsson of the Gebel el Silsila Epigraphic Survey for images of the Silsila-East stela; and Jo Kyffin for various acts of scanning in the Egypt Exploration Society library. Many errors have been excised via the eagle eyes of my principal proofreader—my wife Dyan Hilton—but the ultimate responsibility for any remaining substandard typography, grammar, or logic remains mine!

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Adelaide	South Australian Museum, Adelaide, Australia
AL	Amarna Letter
Ashmolean	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, U.K.
Basle	Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel, Switzerland
Berlin ÄM	Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, Germany
Berlin VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, Germany
BM	British Museum, London, U.K.
Bremen	Übersee-Museum, Bremen, Germany
Brussels	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Belgium
Cairo	Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt
Durham	Oriental Museum, Durham, U.K.
Fitzwilliam	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, U.K.
Florence	Museo Archeologico, Florence, Italy
KV	Valley of the Kings tomb number
Leipzig	Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Germany
l.p.h.	life, prosperity, health (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏂, <i>ꜥnh wdꜣ snb</i>), the wish often appended to the name of the king in inscriptions

Louvre	Musée du Louvre, Paris, France
Luxor	Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art, Luxor, Egypt
Lyon	Palais des Arts, Lyon, France
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA, U.S.A.
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.
Munich	Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich, Germany
Nicholson	Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, Australia
NMS	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, U.K.
NN	No number, unnumbered
NRT	Tanis royal cemetery tomb number
Nubian Mus.	Nubian Museum, Aswan, Egypt
Ny Carlsberg	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Denmark
o	ostrakon (followed by current location/number)
p	papyrus (followed by current location/number)
Palermo	Museo Archeologico, Palermo, Italy
Petrie	Petrie Museum, University College London, U.K.
PT	Pyramid Text spell
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Netherlands
<i>ro.</i>	<i>recto</i>
TA	Tell el-Amarna tomb number
Toledo	Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, OH, U.S.A.
TT	Theban Tomb number
Turin	Museo Egizio, Turin, Italy
UPMAA	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia, PA, U.S.A.
Vienna	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria
<i>vo.</i>	<i>verso</i>
WV	West Valley of the Kings tomb number

Where titles of individuals are capitalized, they are more or less direct translations of the original Egyptian. Renderings of Egyptian names are intended as far as possible to preserve the original consonantal structure of the original written Egyptian, rather than any hypothetical ancient pronunciation. Persons of the same name are distinguished by Roman numerals (upper case for kings and certain other senior figures; lower case for others) or letters, according to a basic system that has been developing within Egyptology since the 1970s (see Dodson and Hilton 2004: 39). This is not wholly internally coherent, as it is desirable to preserve some long-standing designations to avoid confusion.

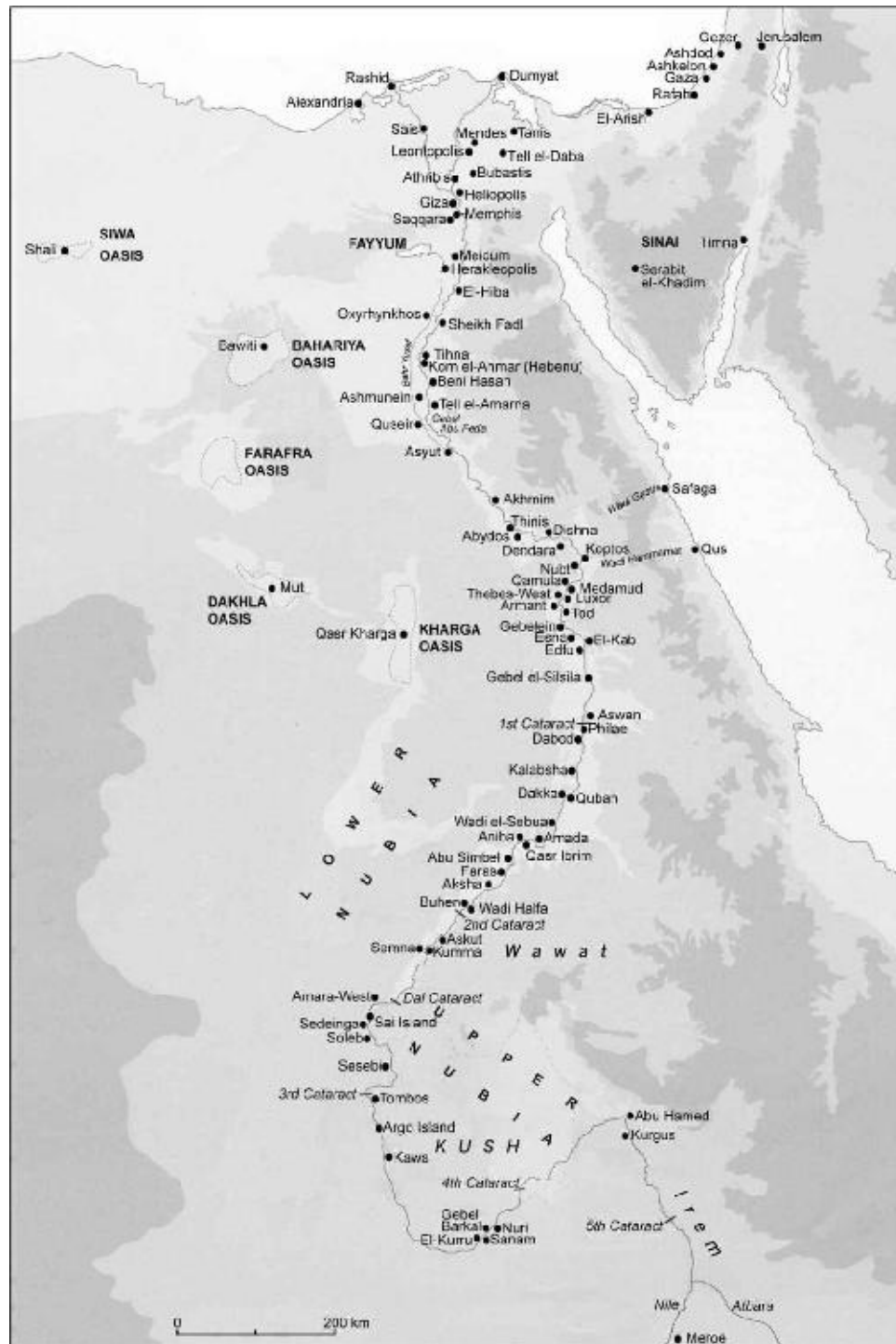
Dates are given in Egyptian terms, which comprise a king's regnal year together with the month and day. The Egyptian year was divided into three seasons, in succession *ḥt*, *pṛt*, and *šmw*, each of which was split into four months, each month in turn divided into thirty days; the year ended with five

feast days. Thus, “III *pṛt* 4” means third month of *pṛt*, day 4.

Square brackets in names and translations normally enclose parts of the text that are damaged or missing in the original, and are accordingly shown as either restored (for example, Akh[enaten]) or unrestorable (for example, Akh[...]). Uncertain readings of signs are given thus: 𐎎𐎍𐎏𐎗 hotep. Where parentheses are used within translations they contain glosses or emendations for clarity (for example, the name of the protagonist, rather than the pronoun used in the original).

When giving bibliography for monuments and texts, references are generally restricted to Porter and Moss, various dates, and the transcriptions in Sethe 1906–1909 and Helck 1955–58, which together generally provide all substantive references down to their dates of publication; additional references provided are generally to works published subsequently or otherwise missed from these sources. German translations of the texts compiled by Sethe and Helck are provided in Sethe 1914 and Helck 1961, with English translations of texts compiled by the latter available in Breasted 1906–1907, Cumming 1982–84, B.G. Davies 1992–95, and Murnane 1995, the latter also including texts not collected by Helck.

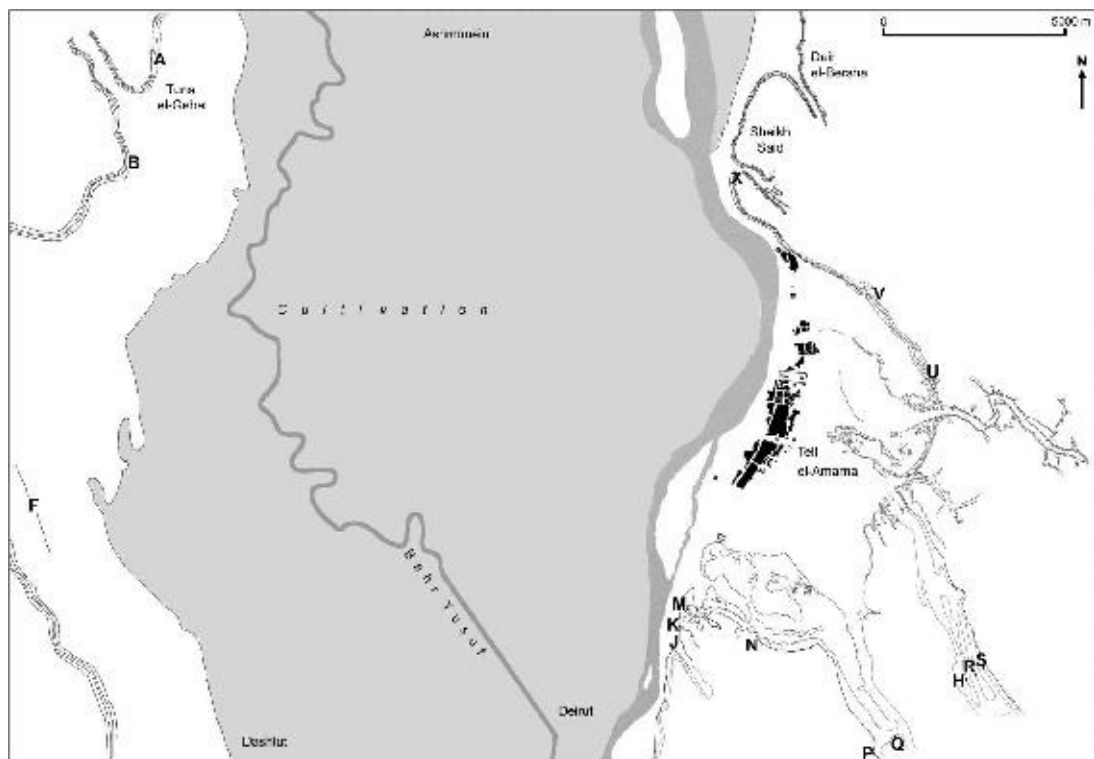
MAPS



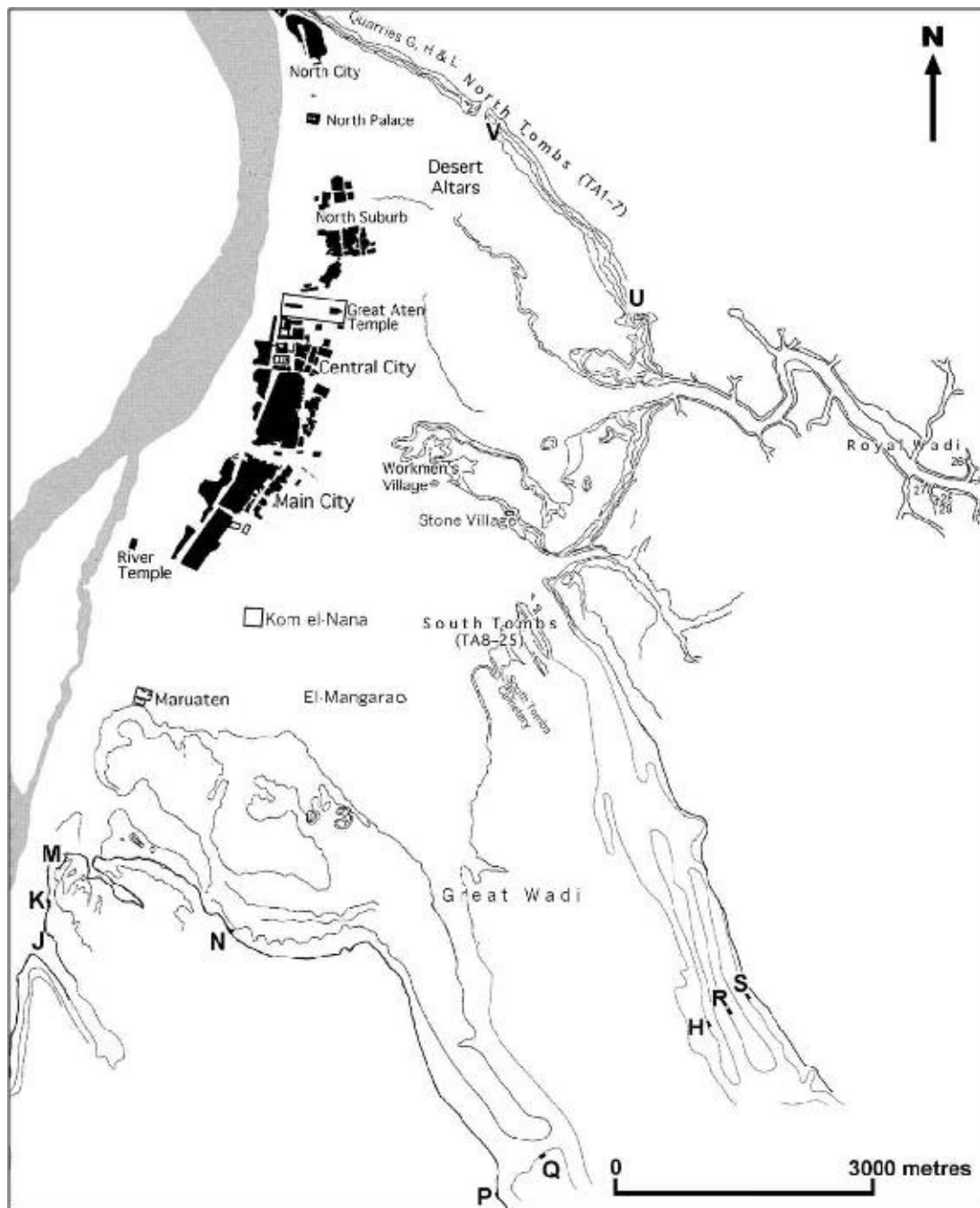
Map 1. The Nile Valley.



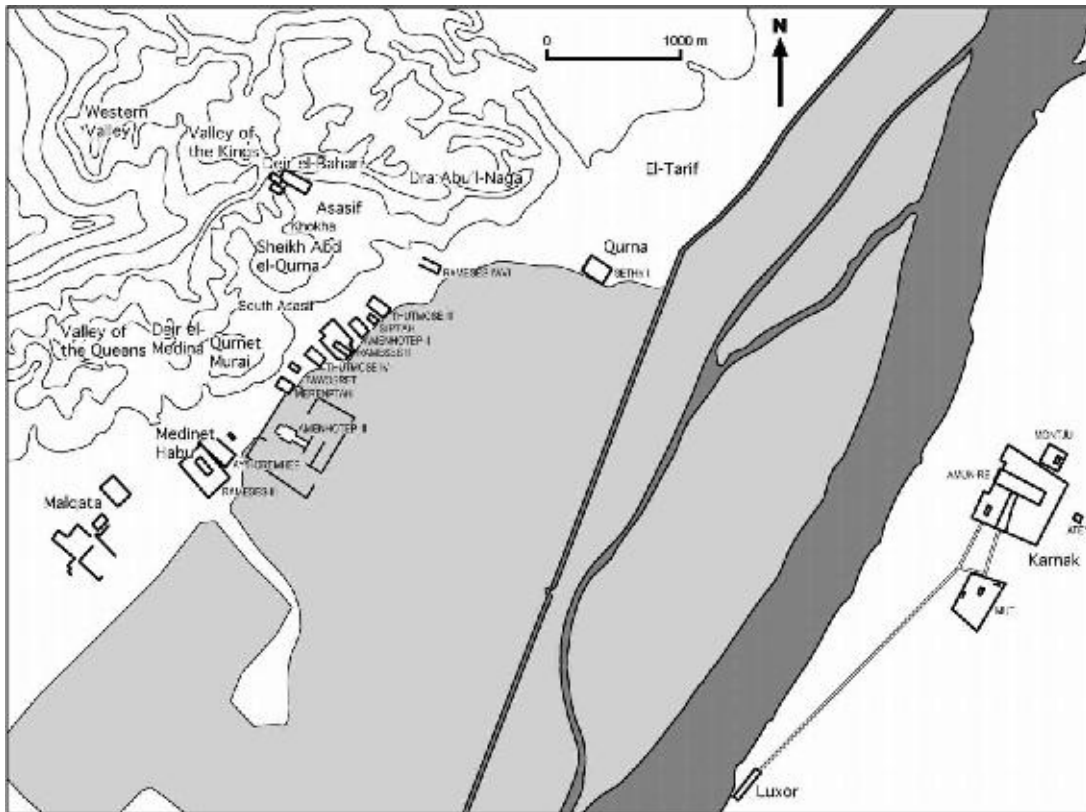
Map 2. The Near East during the fourteenth century BC.



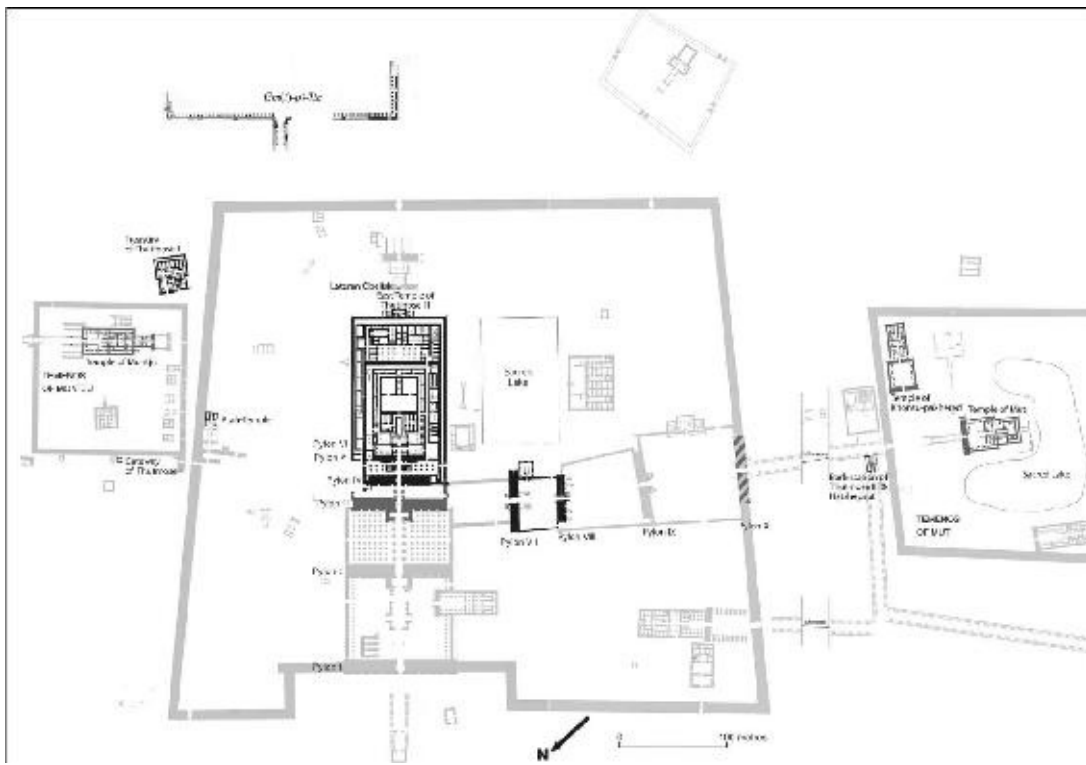
Map 3. Greater Akhet-Aten. The capital letters denote the boundary stelae of Akhet-Aten.



Map 4. Tell el-Amarna. The capital letters denote the boundary stelae of Akhet-Aten.



Map 5. Thebes.



Map 6. The temenos of Amun-Re at Karnak.

Buildings in black are those extant at the end of the reign of Amenhotep II; those in dark grey are additions up to the end of the reign of Akhenaten; light gray represents later additions.

INTRODUCTION: EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY EGYPT

Around the beginning of the sixteenth century BC, Egypt found itself divided into two basic political elements. One was based on the city of Avaris (Tell el-Daba) in the northeast Nile Delta, and was under the rule of kings of Palestinian origin, generally known as the ‘Hyksos’ from a Greek rendition of the Egyptian term *ḥqꜣw-ḥꜣswt*, ‘rulers of foreign countries,’ classified by Manetho as his Fifteenth Dynasty. The other seems to have represented the rump of the regime that had once ruled the whole of Egypt from the Twelfth Dynasty residence city of Itjtawy, but had now been restricted to the south, centered on Thebes. The classification of this regime has been the subject of considerable discussion,¹ a common model regarding rulers still controlling Itjtawy as the Thirteenth Dynasty and those restricted to Thebes as the Seventeenth. However, a variation splits the Theban regime into two separate dynasties, the Sixteenth and Seventeenth,² separated by a Hyksos penetration as far south as Gebelein under Khyan and Apepi.³ The southern kingdom was also

threatened from the south, at least one invasion from Kerma-culture Nubia being recorded.⁴

Some kind of equilibrium seems to have been reached, however, later in the reign of the Hyksos Apepi, by which time Taa (or possibly Thutaa⁵) was ruler in the south. This seems, nevertheless, to have been short-lived, as Taa's mummy (fig. 1)⁶ displays terrible wounds inflicted by battlefield weapons,⁷ while the surviving beginning of a partly lost later folktale⁸ makes the king the recipient of a complaint from Apepi that the hippopotami of Thebes were disturbing his sleep—presumably a trumped-up excuse for war.



Fig. 1. Head of the mummy of Taa, showing the wounds inflicted by a number of weapons, including Palestinian-pattern axes. Cairo CG61051.

Assuming that hostilities did break out and did result in Taa's death, a truce would appear to have followed, as under the next king of Thebes, Kamose, his subjects are depicted as being free to graze cattle in the north, with the borders of Kamose's domain firmly set at Cusae and Elephantine.⁹ Nevertheless, the king is then stated to have resolved to launch a new attack on Hyksos territory, which penetrated as far north as Sheikh Fadl.¹⁰ During this exercise, a Hyksos royal

messenger was captured, carrying a letter from Apepi to his ally, the king of Kush, calling upon him to come to his aid by attacking the Egyptians from the south while their main forces were engaged in the north. Perhaps owing to this threat from the south, Kamose sent a force to sack Bahariya Oasis, to prevent its use as a staging post from Nubia, before returning to Thebes.

Kamose seems to have died shortly afterward, as there is no evidence for any further Theban assault on the Hyksos domain until the second decade of the reign of his successor, Ahmose I (fig. 2). Ultimately, however, operations began once again, the Thebans managing to launch an attack on Heliopolis before pressing on into the Delta to finally settle scores with the Hyksos in Avaris.¹¹ The siege of the city was fairly drawn out, interrupted by the need to put down insurrections in already liberated territory; it was finally taken somewhere between Years 12 and 15 of Ahmose I. This was followed up by a six-year siege of the southwest Palestinian fortress of Sharuhén, whose surrender marked the formal expulsion of the Hyksos.



Fig. 2. Detail of a stela showing Ahmose I making offerings to his grandmother, Tetisherit. From her cenotaph-pyramid at Abydos (Cairo CG34002).

Having freed Egypt of foreign rule, Ahmose I turned his attention to Nubia. It seems that Kamose had previously reconquered the area up to the Second Cataract, although this may subsequently have been retaken by the Kushites.¹² Now, Egyptian forces reasserted rule over the area south of the Second Cataract, enabling the establishment of a new civil administration, headed by a viceroy, the first of whom under Ahmose I may have been one Thuty. Having resolved matters within Egypt and the 'near-abroad,' Ahmose I appears to have returned to Palestine to undertake a further campaign to extend the area of Egyptian power into Asia—perhaps as far as the Euphrates, although this extension may

have been the work of his successor, Amenhotep I (fig. 3).¹³ The latter in any case undertook at least one expedition into Nubia¹⁴ and a considerable amount of building work, particularly at Karnak.

His successor, Thutmose I (fig. 4)—of doubtful antecedents¹⁵—undertook extensive campaigns into Nubia, including one that lasted some eight months and established the ultimate southern boundary of Egyptian control at Kurgus,¹⁶ and into Syria, the latter including conflict with the kingdom of Mitanni.¹⁷ He also built extensively, at Karnak and elsewhere, during a reign of uncertain length.¹⁸ He was succeeded by his son, Thutmose II, whose reign appears to have been fairly uneventful, apart from a police action into Nubia.¹⁹ The duration of his reign is also unclear,²⁰ but upon his death Thutmose II was followed on the throne by a son of a junior wife, Thutmose III, with the dowager queen, Hatshepsut, Thutmose II's half-sister, as regent.

For reasons that remain obscure, in Year 7 of Thutmose III's reign Hatshepsut assumed full pharaonic titles,²¹ which she would retain until Year 21 (fig. 5). During these fourteen years that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III shared the throne—albeit with Hatshepsut as clearly the senior partner²²—there is evidence for at least two campaigns in Nubia,²³ together with oblique hints at the possibility of further action in the north. In addition, Hatshepsut sent a trading expedition to Punt, the Red Sea polity²⁴ that had been a trading partner of Egypt since at least the Fifth Dynasty, under Sahure.²⁵



Fig. 3. Amenhotep I, as represented in the alabaster shrine that he began at Karnak.



Fig. 4. Thutmose I, as shown on Amenhotep I's alabaster shrine.

It remains unclear whether Hatshepsut's disappearance from the scene was the result of death or of retirement.²⁶ Curiously, apparently two whole decades after this,²⁷ an assault whose background remains the subject of debate was launched on her monuments by her erstwhile co-regent.²⁸ In any case, from Year 22 onward, Thutmose III has left extensive accounts of a series of annual military expeditions into Syria–Palestine.²⁹ The first culminated in the Battle of Megiddo, and the capture of that city after a seven-month siege. It seems to have been a strategic success, as the immediately succeeding campaigns appear to have been straightforward marches through Syria–Palestine, the army collecting gifts and tribute as it went.



Fig. 5. Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (with erased cartouche), as shown in the cabin of a boat. From the Asasif (Bournemouth Natural Science Society 1922-03-004).

Year 29 saw the first expedition known to have pressed beyond the areas where Egyptian suzerainty had been confirmed by the Megiddo campaign. Together with the next year's operations, it saw the king push up into Syria proper, finally capturing the strategic city of Qadesh. In Thutmose's follow-up settlement, the sons of the rulers of the defeated city-states were taken away to Egypt, both as hostages against their fathers' good behavior, and also to educate them as an Egyptophile next generation of rulers, to ease the perpetuation of an Egyptian hegemony.

The campaign of his thirty-third regnal year witnessed Thutmose III's crowning military achievement. His grandfather, Thutmose I, had reached the Euphrates, and left a commemorative stela there, but now the third Thutmose crossed that great river boundary, defeating in the process the king of Mitanni, one of the era's great powers. He then erected a stela of his own next to that of Thutmose I, together with another on the newly seized opposite bank of the river. Having also pushed north to Carchemish, Thutmose III had now extended Egyptian power to its greatest extent in Asia, and while in the area he received gifts from not only the local rulers and the defeated king of Mitanni, but also the

kings of Babylon and the Hittites. Campaigning in Asia continued through Year 42, ending with a final occupation of Qadesh, while a final journey to the very southern limit of Egypt, as far as its ultimate boundary at Kurgus, is recorded for Year 50, including the clearance of an old First Cataract canal constructed by Senwosret III, to ease the expedition's passage.³⁰

In both Egypt and Nubia, Thutmose III was a great builder,³¹ large parts of the temple of Karnak being his work, including a number of obelisks; one remained unerected at his death, being finally set up by his grandson Thutmose IV (see pp. 34–36). One of the last dated memorials of Thutmose III was a stela installed in the temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal in Year 47, and which seems very much to have been intended as a retrospective overview of his long career as king.³² By now, he had outlived his first (?)³³ Great Wife, Sitiah,³⁴ and probably a junior wife named Nebtu,³⁵ as well as his original heir, Amenemhat (B).³⁶ With his final Great Wife, Meryetre(-Hatshepsut), he had, among others,³⁷ his ultimate heir, Amenhotep B (later Amenhotep II).³⁸

There has been considerable discussion on the chronology of the transition between the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.³⁹ Thutmose is stated to have died on III *pṛt* 30, in Year 54,⁴⁰ but the accession date of Amenhotep is stated elsewhere to have been IV *ḥt* 1.⁴¹ This has generally been interpreted as an indication of a co-regency of at least four months between the two kings (to which whole years could potentially be added). Various other data can be mustered to support this,⁴² together with monuments depicting or mentioning both kings together: not only scarabs and private tomb representations, but also the decoration of the temple of Amada in Lower Nubia,⁴³ which was clearly laid out to be a joint memorial of both kings.⁴⁴ On the other hand, it is not impossible that *pṛt* had been written in error for *ḥt* in the death-record⁴⁵ and that there was actually no co-regency at all. In this case, the various 'joint' memorials could actually have been the work of Amenhotep II in his earliest years, as a way of cementing the young king closely to his long-lived predecessor. Such possibilities bedevil the study of the institution of co-regency in Egypt, and underpin the key later debate as to whether Amenhotep III and IV ever shared the throne (see pp. 74–76).

In any case, Thutmose III remained an iconic figure for centuries after his death; indeed, in spite of the attempt to erase her from history, Hatshepsut also seemingly remained a potent figure. Some four centuries later, the Twenty-first Dynasty priest-king Panedjem I would name a son Menkheperre (Thutmose III)

and a daughter Maatkare (Hatshepsut), clearly wishing to link himself, in a time of national division and decline, back with two of the principal authors of what was then seen as Egypt's golden age.⁴⁶

DAWN OF THE GOLDEN AGE

Regardless of the reality or otherwise of the Thutmose III/Amenhotep II co-regency, Amenhotep will still have been a young man when he became the sole ruler of Egypt.¹ As such, he threw himself into a new series of campaigns into Syria–Palestine, attested in Years 3,² 7, and 9.³

Little is known of the first of these, except that it included the capture and execution of seven local rulers in the Takhsy region, generally placed to the east of the Orontes, southeast of Qadesh.⁴ Brought back to Egypt hanging upside-down from the bow of the king's ship,⁵ six of the corpses were hung from the walls of Thebes, with the seventh displayed on the walls of Thebes' Nubian counterpoint, Napata (Gebel Barkal).

Much more information is available on the second pair of campaigns. Operations in Year 7 were formally initiated by crossing the Orontes on I šmw 26, following which the Egyptians were attacked by forces from the city of Qatna. This attack was successfully defeated, but nothing is recorded of events during the following two weeks, the end of which found the Egyptian army at Niy (Qalat el-Mudiq), around a hundred kilometers north of Qatna—but already having turned south. It has been suggested that this silence suggests defeat—or at least a lack of success—in operations against Mitannian territory in the region between Niy and the headwaters of the Euphrates.⁶

Moving southward from Niy, the king suppressed a revolt against the Egyptian garrison in a town (*‘(a)-kú-ta₂*) of uncertain location,⁷ before then undertaking operations against a series of settlements, down to the now friendly

city of Qadesh. Here, oaths of allegiance were given to the king, while the king himself gave a demonstration of his skill as an archer (cf. just below). He also conducted a hunting expedition to the forest of *la-b-'u* and received the formal submission of, and gifts from, the town of *ḥá-šá-bu* (Tell Khashbe).

On III šmw 6 Amenhotep and his army were at the Plain of Sharon, on the coast between Caesaria and Joppa, where a Mitannian courier was captured, suggesting that the king of Mitanni was attempting to stir up trouble among Egyptian vassals well within what was by now regarded as Egyptian territory.⁸ Three weeks later, the king appears to have been home in Memphis, having concluded what was labeled his “First Campaign of Victory.”⁹

Two years later, a further expedition was mounted beyond Egypt’s northern border, although concentrating solely on the area between the coast and the River Jordan. A series of towns were conquered, two (*má-pá-ši-n* and *ḥá-tá-ši-n*) being apparently singled out for the atrocity of having their inhabitants and all their possessions burnt in trenches dug for that purpose.¹⁰ In the last town taken by the king, *q-ba-'a-sú-mi-n*, the local ruler was deposed and replaced by another more amenable to the Egyptians; the former chief, named Qaqa, his family, and retainers were carried off as prisoners.

In the wake of the Year 9 campaign, there occurred visits by gift-bearing representatives of Mitanni, Hatti, and Babylonia¹¹ that would appear to be the first surviving evidence for the network of diplomatic relations that we see in place later in the Eighteenth Dynasty. While it has been suggested that these visits led to agreements that terminated further military activity by Amenhotep II in the north, this cannot be proved,¹² especially as a fragmentary stela may contain records of a later campaign in this direction,¹³ with lists of northern foreign place names from the reign and also including toponyms not included in extant campaign records.¹⁴

Amenhotep II appears to have been keen to present himself as a man of action, not only through his campaigning, but also in more peaceful contexts as a sportsman.¹⁵ One of the most striking of the king’s memorials is a slab, found reused in Pylon III at Karnak, showing him in a chariot shooting arrows through a copper target 5.6 cm (three fingers) thick such that the arrows protruded 22.4 cm (three palms) out the back, lauding him as “one who shot to hit every time he aimed, the hero, the lord of strength” (fig. 6).¹⁶ The theme of Amenhotep II as an archer is found not only in a number of his other monumental texts, but also in representations in contemporary tomb-chapels, both as an adult¹⁷ and as a youth, being taught to shoot by Min xxi, the mayor of Thinis.¹⁸ In his prowess as an

archer, the king seems to have been following the lead of his father Thutmose III.¹⁹ Skills in rowing, running, and chariot-driving are also proclaimed to be among Amenhotep II's physical achievements,²⁰ and in the relative novelty of their presentation suggest that the king's display was grounded on a genuine aspect of the king's personality, rather than part of the stereotypical depiction of an Egyptian king as a possessor of manifold talents.²¹



Fig. 6. Amenhotep II frequently presented himself as a supreme athlete, for example in this stela from Karnak in which he is depicted shooting arrows through a copper target “three fingers” (5.6 cm) thick. From Karnak, Pylon III (Luxor Museum J.129).

The family of Amenhotep II presents a number of problems, with indications of dissension within the royal family at the end of the reign (see pp. 22–24). No wife seems to occur on any extant monument of Amenhotep's own reign, although one or more spouses may be represented by human remains in his tomb, KV35 in the Valley of the Kings (cf. p. 165).

One woman is, however, named as a wife of Amenhotep II on materials produced after the king's death.²² She is Tiaa A (fig. 21), and is given a full string of queenly titles by her son, Thutmose IV. These include God's Wife and, variously, King's Great Wife or King's Wife, the latter making it unclear whether Tiaa had really been Amenhotep II's Great Wife or whether she had been promoted to the higher rank by her son. Interestingly, her figure was introduced

into a number of reliefs of Amenhotep II by Thutmose IV, Tiaa's replacing images of Meryetre, Amenhotep's mother.²³

Of the king's offspring, the future Thutmose IV is represented by a contemporary statuette from the temple of Mut at Karnak, also mentioning his tutor, Heqareshu,²⁴ and by a retrospective depiction on Heqareshu's lap in TT64 (fig. 23),²⁵ probably the sepulcher of the latter's son, Heqaerneheh. Another son of the king, Webensenu, was buried in KV35 with his father—a canopic jar, four *shabtis*, and probably his mummy (cf. just above) surviving²⁶—and was also named alongside a brother, Nedjem, on the block statue of one Minmose.²⁷ At least two, if not four, additional sons were represented on the lap of their tutor, almost certainly Heqareshu, in TT226 (fig. 7),²⁸ to judge by the surviving names, both of which were of the Akheper[...]re form, clearly modeled on Amenhotep II's prenomen. One of these princes, Akheperure, is named in two graffiti on the First Cataract island of Konosso (figs. 8a, b),²⁹ alongside both Heqareshu and Heqaerneheh, as well as the King's Herald Re xx and a King's Son Amenhotep.

The identity of this Amenhotep is unclear, as the careers of Heqareshu, Heqaerneheh, and Re all lasted into the reign of Amenhotep III: the Konosso prince Amenhotep could thus be the son of Amenhotep II of that name (C—see just below) or the son of Thutmose IV who eventually became Amenhotep III (D—see p. 27). In the latter case, one might speculate that the graffiti represent a visit of Amenhotep D and one of his father's (much) younger brothers, perhaps a child of Amenhotep II's old age, accompanied by their father-son pair of tutors. On the other hand, the Konosso Amenhotep could be the King's Son of the name who was functioning as *sem*-priest of Ptah—that is, second in the Memphite sacerdotal hierarchy—under Amenhotep II, and thus all but certainly his son.³⁰ Amenhotep C seems to also have been depicted on one or two stelae (fig. 19)³¹ from near the Great Sphinx at Giza. On this evidence he seems to have been a cartouche-user, a very unusual feature for someone other than a king or queen, and thus suggestive of his having been Amenhotep II's heir;³² we will return to him below (see pp. 23–24).



Fig. 7. Scene in TT226, showing four royal children on the lap of their tutor; only two names are partially preserved, naming the King's Sons Akheper[u?]re and Akheper[ka?]re

Another stela from the same area preserves the name of one Amenemopet (A),³³ who may also have been one of Amenhotep II's sons and could be the child of that name shown on the stela of his nurse Senetruiu.³⁴ Further graffiti from the First Cataract area, this time at Sehel, name another King's Son, Khaemwaset (A), who may be dated to Amenhotep II's reign by the proximity of his texts to a prenomen of the king (figs. 8c, d).³⁵ Also perhaps a son of Amenhotep II was Ahmose B, who served as high priest of Re at Heliopolis, and whose monuments may be dated stylistically to the reign of Thutmose IV,³⁶ suggesting that Ahmose may have been another of his siblings.



Fig. 8. Graffiti from the islands at the First Cataract. On Konosso: a. naming the God's Father Heqareshu and the King's Sons Amenhotep and Akheperure; b. naming the King's Herald Re, the King's Sons Akheperure and Amenhotep and the Child of the Kap Heqaerneheh. On Sehel: c. and d.: the King's Son and Overseer of Cattle Khaemwaset.

No contemporary monuments name any daughters of Amenhotep II. However, one of the spouses of Thutmose IV, Iaret, bears the titles of King's Daughter and King's Sister, with Amenhotep II the only plausible candidate for her father (see p. 25).

A considerable number of the officials of the reign of Amenhotep II are known.³⁷ Of the most senior, Amenhotep II inherited the last of Thutmose III's southern viziers, Rekhmire.³⁸ He may have ended his career in disgrace, to judge from the mutilation of his figures in his tomb-chapel, TT100,³⁹ and the fact that he was followed by a man unrelated to him—contrasting with the familial succession seen since Rekhmire's grandfather, Ahmose, had been appointed to the vizierate under Hatshepsut. The new vizier was Amenemopet-Pairy,⁴⁰ son of the king's tutor, Ahmose-Humay (TT224);⁴¹ the vizier's brother Sennefer took the post of mayor of Thebes,⁴² constructing his tomb-chapel, TT96, close to that of his brother, with a most unusual decorated substructure.⁴³ Amenemopet-Pairy had a tomb-chapel (TT29) on the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill,⁴⁴ but with its burial chamber (KV48) located in the Valley of the Kings, close to the tomb of Amenhotep II himself.⁴⁵ This suggests that Rekhmire, whose chapel is also devoid of a substructure, may also have been buried (or had at least planned to

be buried) in a now-anonymous pit tomb in the Valley.

Nothing is definitely known of the northern vizierate during the reign of Amenhotep II, although it is possible that whoever was the later of the two known incumbents under Thutmose III—Neferweben⁴⁶ and Ptahmose i⁴⁷—could have continued in office under Amenhotep, with the possibility that one Thutmose (xx), father of a later high priest of Ptah, Ptahmose v,⁴⁸ may have served later in the reign and on into that of Thutmose IV (see p. 29).

Of the principal priesthoods, at the beginning of the reign the pontificate of Amun at Karnak was held by Menkheperreseneb B (TT112), who had previously officiated under Thutmose III.⁴⁹ It seems likely that he was followed in office by Amenemhat R (TT97)⁵⁰ who, advanced in years when he became high priest,⁵¹ may have been relatively soon followed by Mery xx (TT84 and TT95),⁵² who seems to have served until the end of the reign, if not beyond (see p. 29). A Second Prophet, Mah, a Third Prophet, Kaemheryibsen, and a Fourth Prophet, Neferhotep, have also been attributed the reign.⁵³ Curiously, the Memphite priesthood of Ptah remains totally obscure during Amenhotep II's time, although various officiants in the cults of a range of other deities are known.⁵⁴

By the reign of Amenhotep II, Egypt's control over Nubia extended well beyond the Fourth Cataract (cf. pp. 3, 7); close to this cataract lay Napata, at the foot of the holy mountain of Gebel Barkal. This had probably been founded as the capital of now-Egyptian-ruled Kush by Thutmose III,⁵⁵ and it was here that one of the corpses of the slain Takhsy chiefs had been displayed. Usersatet is the only viceroy known from the reign,⁵⁶ with a number of subordinates also attested.⁵⁷ There is only one extant mention of military activity in the far south, in a scene of Nubian tribute in Usersatet's shrine at Qasr Ibrim (fig. 9).⁵⁸

Blocks from Argo and Sai Islands⁵⁹ and a fragment of statue⁶⁰ from temple B500 at Gebel Barkal indicate building work under the auspices of Amenhotep II in Upper Nubia, while there is evidence for work at the Second Cataract fortresses of Buhen, Kumma (fig. 10), and Uronarti.⁶¹ As already noted (p. 7), Amenhotep II was responsible for completing the Lower Nubian temple at Amada (fig. 11),⁶² material naming him also being found at Faras⁶³ and Qasr Ibrim,⁶⁴ while the king's depiction in a Roman Period relief at Kalabsha (fig. 12)⁶⁵ suggests some involvement by him in an earlier phase of the site.



Fig. 9. Shrine of the Nubian viceroy Usersatet from Qasr Ibrim. A scene of tribute on the right-hand wall provides the only direct evidence for southern campaigning during the reign of Amenhotep II (Nubian Museum).

In Egypt itself, traces of the king's building work survive from the First Cataract to the Delta,⁶⁶ ranging from loose blocks at Heliopolis,⁶⁷ Qamula,⁶⁸ Medamud,⁶⁹ Esna,⁷⁰ Elephantine,⁷¹ and Biga⁷² to in situ remains. The remains of small temples at el-Kab⁷³ and Giza (fig. 13)⁷⁴ complement a range of structures built at various Theban locations,⁷⁵ including his memorial temple and tomb (see pp. 20–21) at Thebes-West, fragments at Luxor,⁷⁶ and a number of structures at Karnak. Many are represented only by reused blocks in later constructions,⁷⁷ but Amenhotep II was responsible for the addition of scenes and texts to the south face of Pylon VIII (fig. 14),⁷⁸ as well as a now demolished courtyard in front of it.⁷⁹ This had pillared arcades on either side, the eastern one fronting a large, pillared, multiple-bark shrine. A small pylon closed the court to the south, fronted by colossi of Amenhotep I and II, which were removed to the front of the west tower of Pylon VIII under Horemheb. Indeed, the whole of the courtyard was dismantled by that king; the blocks from the eastern and western ranges were used to construct a new building on the eastern side of the new court between Pylons IX and X in which all the original texts and scenes of

Amenhotep II were left intact—to all appearances an edifice of that king, but actually constructed on a wholly new plan and site (fig. 15).⁸⁰



Fig. 10. Amenhotep libating Khnum in the temple from the fortress at Kumma (Sudan National Museum).



Fig. 11. The temple at Amada in Nubia, originally constructed by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, with the outer section remodeled under Thutmose IV.



Fig. 12. Roman Period relief on the rear wall of the pronaos of the temple of Mandulis at Kalabsha showing Amenhotep II offering to Min-Re.



Fig. 13. The temple of Amenhotep II, dedicated to Horun-Horemakhet as incarnated in the adjacent Great Sphinx; the causeway and pyramid of Khaefre are in the background.

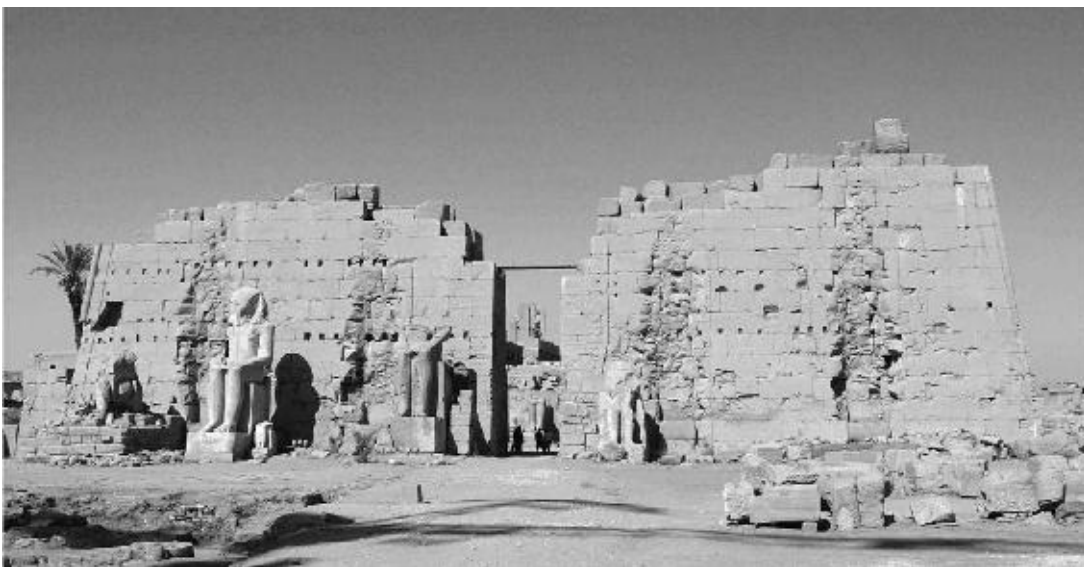


Fig. 14. Pylon VIII, built by Hatshepsut, but whose south face (see here) was redecorated by Amenhotep II. The colossi in front represent, from the right: Amenhotep II; Amenhotep I; Thutmose II (twice). The first-mentioned pair once fronted the pylon of the courtyard that Amenhotep II erected in front of Pylon VIII.



Fig. 15. Chapel between Pylons IX and X at Karnak, erected by Horemheb from the elements of structures that originally formed part of the Amenhotep II courtyard before Pylon VIII.

The latest known regnal year for Amenhotep II appears to be his twenty-sixth,⁸¹ but various arguments have been put forward to postulate a reign of up to another decade.⁸² Important factors include the fact that an unfinished monument of Thutmose III was erected thirty-five years after his death by Thutmose IV (see pp. 7, 32); unless this occurred just before Thutmose IV's death after a reign of no more than a decade, this would point to a reign of something over three decades for Amenhotep II. There are also texts⁸³ that have been read as indicating that he celebrated two *sed*-jubilees, which could potentially point to a reign of over thirty years; however, these appear in fact to be merely prospective wishes, of no chronological import.⁸⁴

For his funerary monuments, Amenhotep II followed the pattern established by his predecessors, with a tomb in the Valley of the Kings and a memorial temple on the edge of the cultivation at Thebes-West (fig. 54). The temple (fig. 16)⁸⁵ lay a little south of that of the king's father, and in plan was apparently similar to it, although much detail is hidden by the building's utter devastation. Likewise, the king's tomb (KV35)⁸⁶ was, like Thutmose III's, placed in an inconspicuous part of the Valley of the Kings, adopted a 'bent' plan typical of mid-Eighteenth Dynasty tombs (fig. 17), and had its burial chamber decorated with the 'drawn' version of the Book of Amduat that is typical of kings' tombs of the period (cf. fig. 68).⁸⁷

However, beyond these basic features, the tomb displays many innovations in both form and contents. First, a rectangular hall with six pillars replaced the

cartouche-form burial chamber of Thutmose III.⁸⁸ Apparently originally constructed with a single-level floor, a sunken crypt was subsequently⁸⁹ added beyond the farthest pillars to house the king's sarcophagus (fig. 18). This may have been intended to provide the additional height necessary to accommodate nested shrines of the kind found in the tomb of Tutankhamun⁹⁰ and shown on a plan of the tomb of Rameses IV.⁹¹ If so, the introduction of this item of soon-standard royal funerary equipment will also have been an innovation of Amenhotep II.

A further change in the royal funerary outfit can be seen in the king's canopic equipment, where the quartzite box found in the immediately preceding reigns was replaced by a calcite chest of innovative design.⁹² Finally, Amenhotep II's is the first in which multiple *shabti* figures are found. As far as can be ascertained, standard burial outfits had hitherto included a single *shabti*, but over eighty belonging to Amenhotep II are known.⁹³



Fig. 16. Aerial view of the remains of the memorial temple of Amenhotep II.

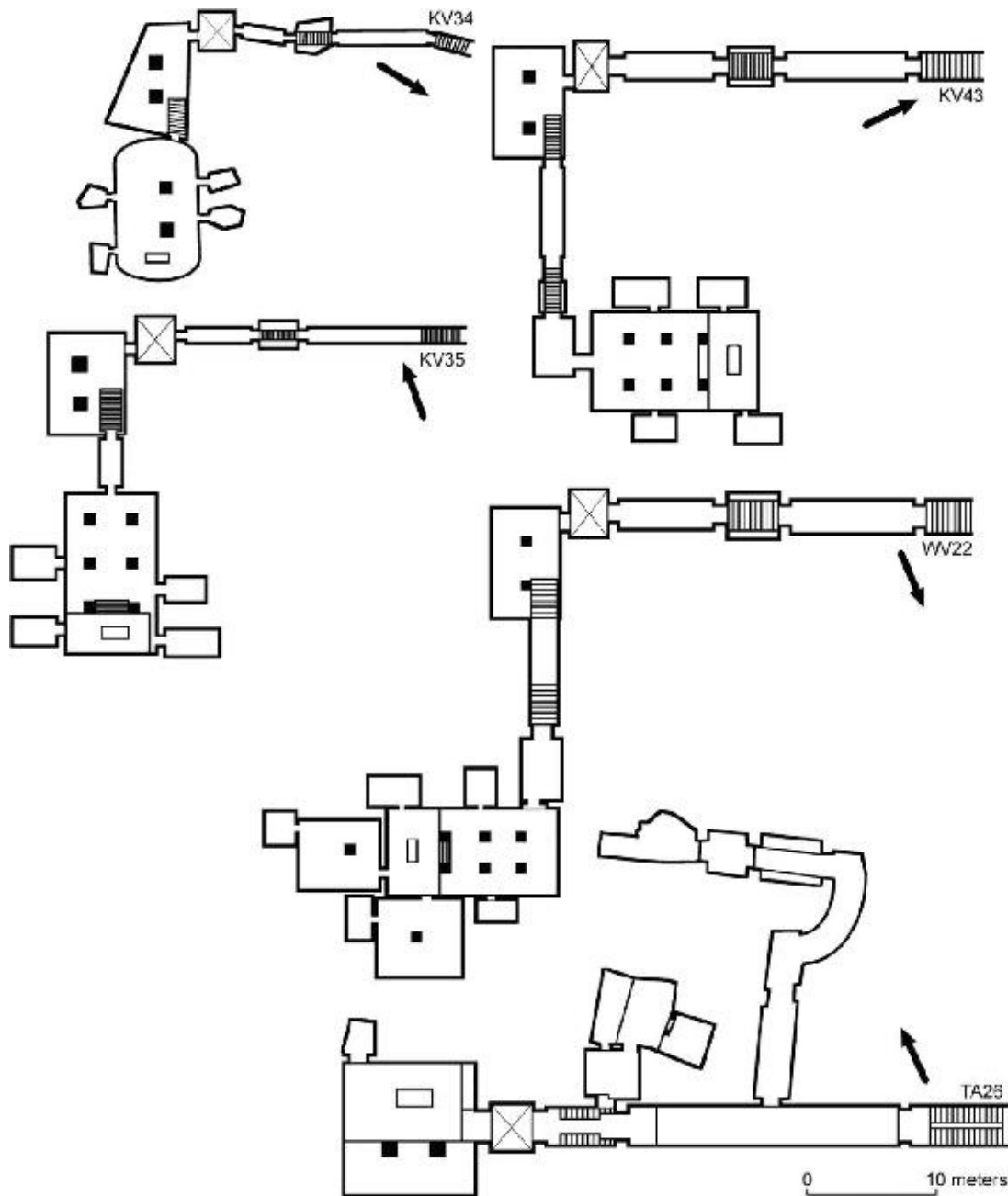


Fig. 17. Plans of the tombs of the kings of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty: Thutmose III (KV34); Amenhotep II (KV35); Thutmose IV (KV43); Amenhotep III (WV22); Akhenaten (TA26).

As noted above (p. 12), Amenhotep II's heir appears to have been his son, the Memphite *sem*-priest, Amenhotep C. However, his successor was another son, Thutmose A, who became king as Menkheperure Thutmose (IV)-khakhau. The new king's prenomen was clearly intended to mirror that of his grandfather, Thutmose III, differing only in the plurality of the *kheper* element. That the succession is likely to have been irregular is suggested by two factors: first,

Amenhotep C's Giza stelae (fig. 19) had their owner's name and titles erased; second, the successful prince attributed his accession to the intervention of the god Horemakhet, as incarnated in the Great Sphinx at Giza.⁹⁴

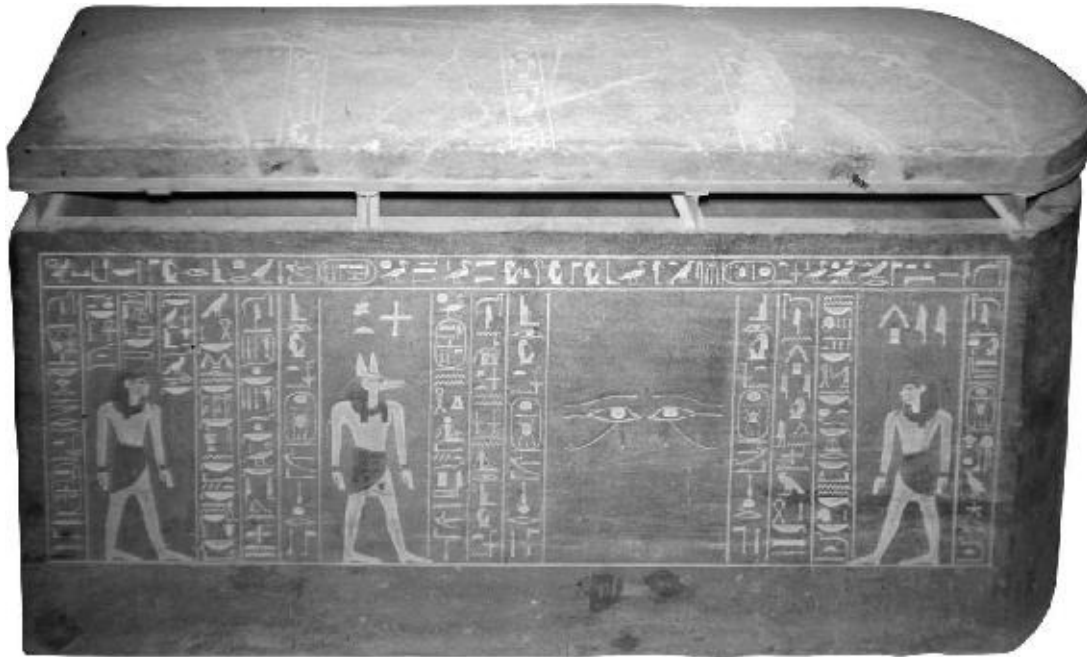


Fig. 18. The quartzite sarcophagus of Amenhotep II in the crypt of the burial chamber of KV35.

It happened that the King's Son Thutmose ... sat down in the shadow of this great god. Sleep seized him at the time when the sun was at the zenith, and he found the person of this noble god speaking with his own mouth, like the words of a father for his son, saying: "Look at me, see me, my son Thutmose. I am your father, Horemakhet-Khepri-Atum, and I shall give you the kingship upon earth You shall wear the White and the Red Crowns upon the throne of Geb My condition is as one who is in need ... as the sands of the desert upon which I lie are encroaching me"

The text is unfortunately incomplete, but it seems probable that the lost final section records Thutmose's clearance of the sand that was inundating the figure of the god, erecting protective walls,⁹⁵ and accordingly receiving the throne—and placing his account on a stela within a chapel between the paws of the sphinx (fig. 20).⁹⁶ While doubts have been expressed,⁹⁷ this Giza evidence seems best explained by Thutmose IV having displaced an elder brother from the

Thutmose IV's relative youth at his succession is perhaps supported by his prominent association with his mother Tiaa—rather than a wife—on a statue (fig. 21)¹⁰⁴ and a block from Karnak,¹⁰⁵ together with a stela at Luxor¹⁰⁶ and a statue from the Fayyum.¹⁰⁷ However, subsequently no fewer than three ladies are known bearing the title of King's Great Wife vis-à-vis Thutmose IV. It is probable that these ladies held the title successively, as there is no evidence for multiple contemporaneous Great Wives prior to the time of Amenhotep III.¹⁰⁸

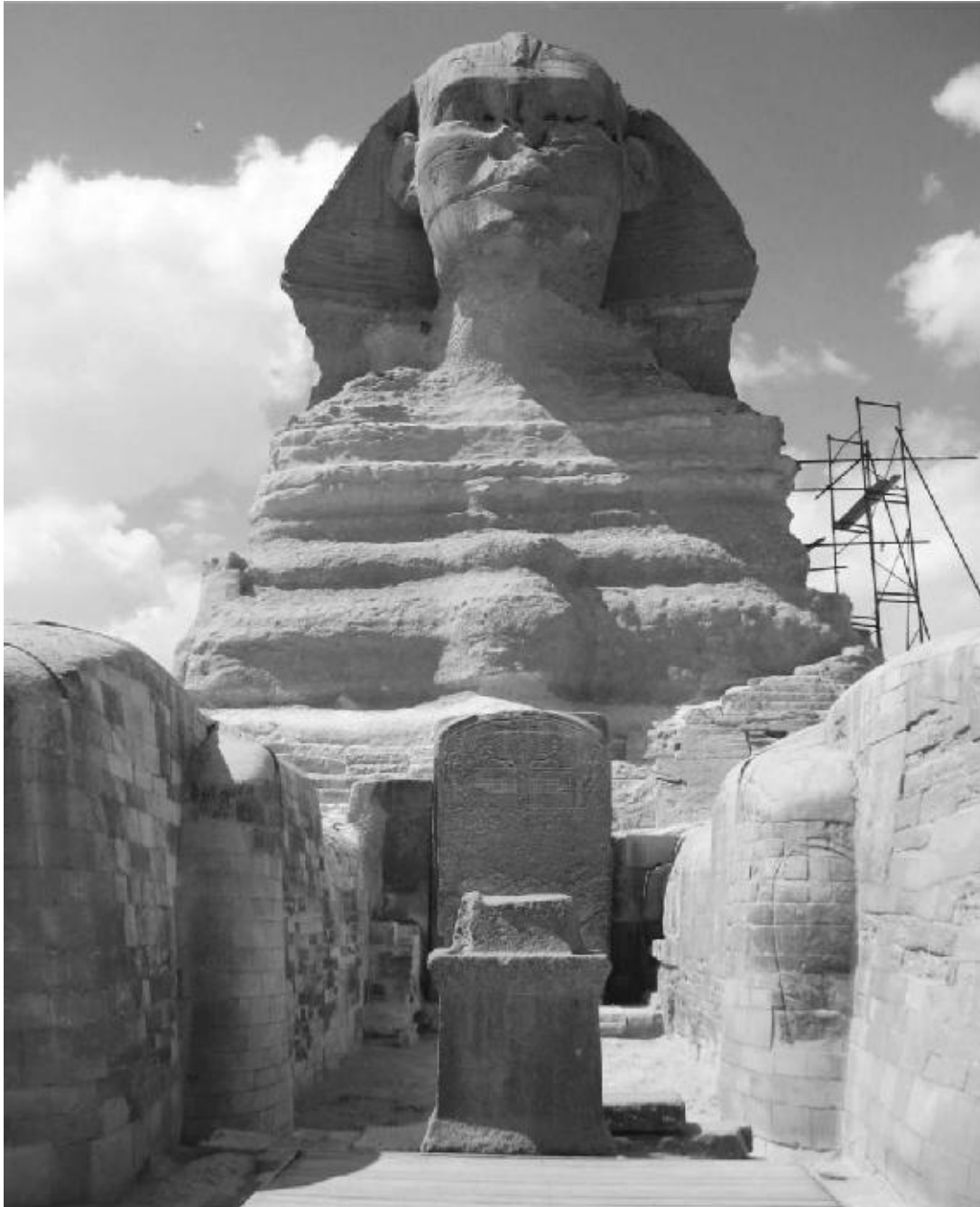


Fig. 20. The Great Sphinx at Giza, showing the altar and “Dream Stela” of Thutmose IV between the paws.

Of them, Nefertiry C is the best attested, with ten monuments from sites ranging from Giza (e.g., fig. 22) to Luxor.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, the second, whose name is written enigmatically simply (conventionally transcribed as ‘Iaret’), is known only from three instances, including two texts dated to Year 7,¹¹⁰ potentially placing her as Nefertiry’s successor. Unlike Nefertiry, whose origins remain obscure, Iaret is stated to be a King’s Daughter and King’s Sister, indicating that she must have been a daughter of Amenhotep II.¹¹¹

The third known spouse of Thutmose IV was Mutemwia, known only from monuments dating to the reign of her son, Amenhotep III.¹¹² As such, it is uncertain whether she was indeed a Great Wife of Thutmose, or had received this designation only after her husband’s demise.¹¹³ Her origins are wholly obscure, although a number of suggestions have been made, ranging from her being an alias of Iaret, through a Mitannian princess, to an Egyptian commoner, perhaps of the Yuya family that later produced Mutemwia’s daughter-in-law, Tiye.¹¹⁴ The latter option may be supported by genetic evidence (see p. 167).



Fig. 21. Statue of Thutmose IV and his mother, Tiaa. From Karnak (Cairo CG42080).



Fig. 22. Detail of stela showing Thutmose IV and Nefertiry C. From the Great Sphinx at Giza (Leipzig 2429).

The suggestion that Mutemwia might have been a Mitannian arose from a retrospective mention, in a letter from King Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep IV,¹¹⁵ of his grandfather Artatama I granting a daughter to Amenhotep's own grandfather as a bride.¹¹⁶ However, nothing else is known of this lady, and she will surely have married Thutmose too late to have become the mother of Amenhotep III (cf. p. 41).¹¹⁷

The possible mention of Mutemwia's son Amenhotep D in graffiti at Konosso has been noted above (p. 12, fig. 8). He is all but certainly to be identified with the King's Son of the name shown in TT64 in the presence of Thutmose IV and the tutors Heqareshu and Heqaerneheh (fig. 23). He is also most likely to be the King's Son Amenhotep, with the epithet *mr-ḥpš*, shown as a ward of the Treasurer Sobekhotep (owner of TT63) on a statue of this worthy (fig. 24).¹¹⁸

This monument invokes Fayyumic gods, and may suggest that the prince was brought up in the area of the Fayyum, perhaps at the harem palace at Medinet Gurob (see p. 57).

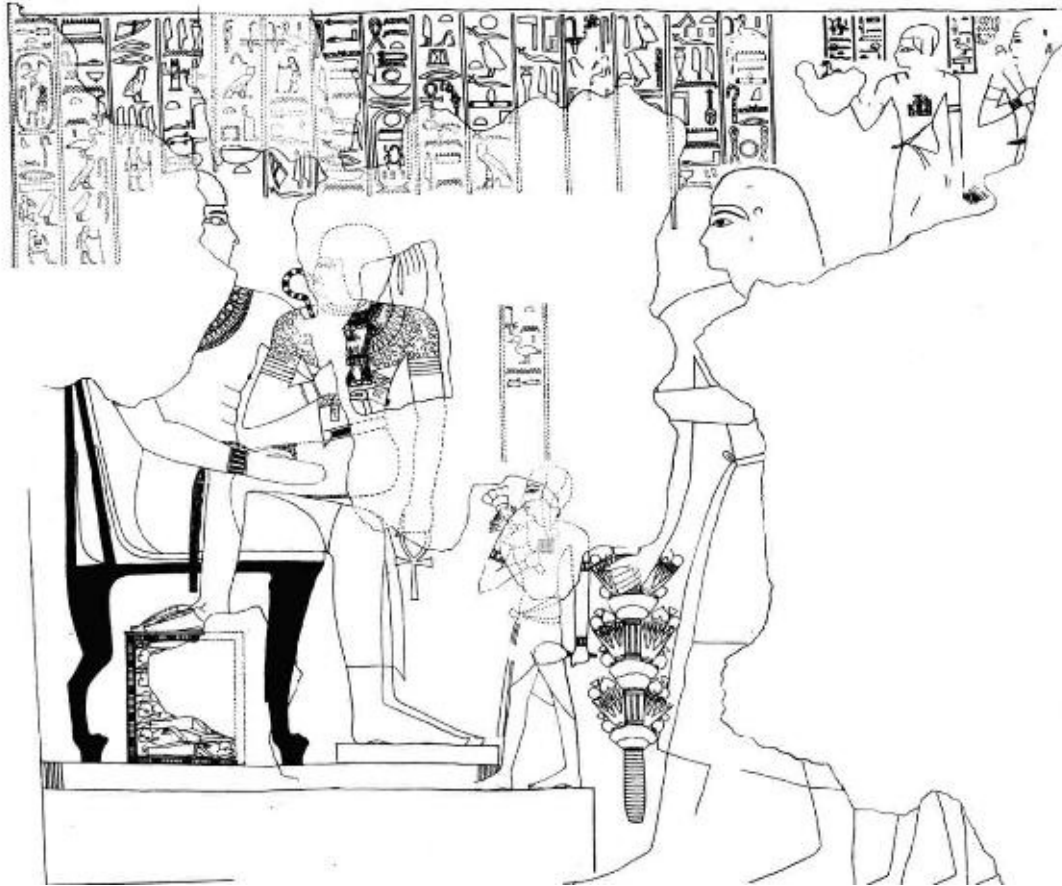


Fig. 23. Scene from the tomb-chapel TT64, showing the royal tutors Heqareshu and his son, Heqaerneheh. The former holds the future Thutmose IV on his lap, while the latter (called explicitly “Tutor of the King’s Son Amenhotep”) has the future Amenhotep III in front of him. Six further princes once stood behind Heqaerneheh, but have been largely destroyed, with only the first, Amenemhat, having his name preserved.

Six additional royal children were once depicted behind Heqaerneheh in TT64 and were thus most probably also Thutmose IV’s sons, although the name of only the first, Amenemhat C, survives. Thutmose certainly had a son of that name, who died young and was buried in the king’s tomb.¹¹⁹ Among candidates for the other five are a number of princes who can be dated generally to the third quarter of the Eighteenth Dynasty, including Temy,¹²⁰ Pentepihu,¹²¹ and Siatum A.¹²²

As for daughters of Thutmose IV, three are definitely known: one, Tintamun, is attested by her interment alongside Amenemhat C in Thutmose IV’s tomb,¹²³

while two, Tiaa B and Pyihia, are expressly called his daughters on labels attached to their mummies when reburied during the Twenty-first Dynasty.¹²⁴ They may have originally been buried in the Valley of the Queens, from whence canopic jar fragments naming a princess Tiaa seem to have come.¹²⁵ Tiaa B is also represented in TT63 on the lap of her nurse, Meryet, the wife of the Treasurer Sobekhotep—the man we have already met as tutor of Tiaa's brother Amenhotep D.



Fig. 24. Headless statue of the Treasurer Sobekhotep A, holding the young prince Amenhotep D, soon to be king. Probably from the Fayyum (Brussels E.6856).

As had been the case under his father, the headship of the civil administration of Thutmose IV was split between a northern and a southern vizier.¹²⁶ This dual authority is nicely illustrated by a judicial document of the reign, in which both the northern vizier Ptahhotep i and his southern opposite number Hepu

feature.¹²⁷ Ptahhotep is otherwise unknown, but Hepu is also attested by his tomb-chapel (TT66) on Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.¹²⁸

Another northern vizier of the reign seems to have been the aforementioned Thutmose xx, whose sons attained high rank under Amenhotep III¹²⁹ (cf. p. 15). Unfortunately, it is not fully clear whether he should be placed at the beginning of the reign—perhaps having come into office under Amenhotep II—or later, potentially surviving to serve Amenhotep III (cf. pp. 46–47). In the south, it is possible that Hepu was succeeded by Ptahmose vi, who may have also have remained in office under Amenhotep III and gone on to become high priest of Amun (cf. p. 47).

In the key office of Treasurer, Sobekhotep seems to have held office throughout the reign, and was the son of Min xx, who had held the office under Thutmose III and probably Amenhotep II as well.¹³⁰ A range of officials holding more junior administrative posts have been dated to Thutmose IV's time,¹³¹ although in many cases only on the basis of the style of the decoration of their tomb-chapels.¹³²

Of the principal high priesthoods, there is no direct evidence as to the incumbent at Karnak during the reign of Thutmose IV, but it is likely that Mery, in office under Amenhotep II (p. 15, above), was followed by Amenemweskhet.¹³³ Whoever was the first high priest under Amenhotep III may have previously served Thutmose IV, but since the high priestly succession under Amenhotep III remains obscure this can only be conjecture (cf. p. 47).

Interestingly, while various high priests of Amun had, during earlier reigns of the dynasty, held the title of Overseer of Prophets of the South and North, under Thutmose IV it was held by a soldier, Horemheb (xx) (TT78).¹³⁴ This has been suggested as marking a struggle between the king and the Amun priesthood but, while there is no indication that this was indeed the case,¹³⁵ the Amun-pontiff's seeming monopoly on the office was certainly now broken. Horemheb seems to have been followed in the office by Ptahmose vi, but he was to be succeeded in turn by two high priests of Ptah (see pp. 44, 47).

It is clear that the high priesthood of Ptah at Memphis was occupied for at least part of Thutmose IV's reign by a certain Ptahmose.¹³⁶ However, no antecedents are given to identify him from a number of Ptahmoses who are known with the high priestly title at this time. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that he was Ptahmose iv,¹³⁷ son of Thutmose xx, and that he continued in office into the earlier years of Amenhotep III.¹³⁸ Various other chief priests of cults

around Egypt are known,¹³⁹ including the king's putative brother, Ahmose B (p. 13), who ran the cult of Re at Heliopolis.

In Nubia, royal authority was represented, for at least the latter part of the reign, by the viceroy Amenhotep (xx). As compared with his known predecessors in the office, Amenhotep was the first incumbent to have his principal title expanded from King's Son to King's Son of Kush, perhaps to distinguish him from the contemporary (real) King's Son Amenhotep D; he was also the (local) Overseer of Cattle of Amun.¹⁴⁰ His origins are unknown,¹⁴¹ but his tenure of office may have extended through Thutmose IV's reign into that of Amenhotep III (cf. p. 41).¹⁴²

During Year 7/8, it appears that hostile elements from Nubia penetrated into the desert in the southern part of Egypt proper—perhaps into the gold-mining region to the east of Edfu, from whence the king proceeded to counter them.¹⁴³ Otherwise, the evidence of activity in Nubia seems restricted to the execution of building projects.

These extended the whole length of Egypt's Nubian dominions, at its southern extremity in the form of a chapel at the base of Gebel Barkal in a location later occupied by the Meroitic sanctuary B600 (fig. 25).¹⁴⁴ Just above the Third Cataract, Tabo on Argo Island preserves blocks naming Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, attesting to the building of a temple there,¹⁴⁵ with some activity in the temple at the Second Cataract fortress of Buhen.¹⁴⁶ In Lower Nubia, the temple of Amada, built by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, had its peristyle forecourt converted into a hypostyle hall.¹⁴⁷ At the other extreme of Egypt, Thutmose IV also appears in the Sinai, with a number of architectural elements in the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim bearing his names,¹⁴⁸ as well as rock-stelae at the nearby mines.¹⁴⁹

In Egypt proper, architectural fragments naming Thutmose IV reused on Elephantine indicate that building was carried out there during the reign, presumably extending the temple of Khnum, begun by Thutmose II.¹⁵⁰ Surviving material also indicates activity at Edfu,¹⁵¹ el-Kab,¹⁵² Tod,¹⁵³ Armant,¹⁵⁴ Medamud,¹⁵⁵ Dendara,¹⁵⁶ Abydos,¹⁵⁷ Ashmunein,¹⁵⁸ Abusir,¹⁵⁹ Giza,¹⁶⁰ and Heliopolis,¹⁶¹ besides the capital territories of Memphis and Thebes. A foundation deposit, architectural fragments, and stelae¹⁶² indicate some construction at the former, but the Theban area preserves by far the largest amount of extant material of the reign.



Fig. 25. The temples at the foot of Gebal Barkal. B600 was rebuilt in Meroitic times on the foundations of a chapel of Thutmose IV—the earliest extant architectural remains on the site—while the earliest extant phase of B500 appears to date to the time of Akhenaten.

A fragmentary colossal statue of the king was found at Luxor, apparently forming part of the sanctuary there that was to be almost entirely erased by the later constructions of Amenhotep III and Rameses II.¹⁶³ At Karnak, the Montju complex has revealed fragments of gateways in Thutmose IV's name,¹⁶⁴ while a pair of colossal Osirid statues of the king were found in that of Mut, although it is possible that they may have been taken there by their usurper, Rameses II.

Thutmose IV's most significant monuments were, however, within the temenos of Amun, headed by the sandstone colonnades he erected against the limestone walls of the courtyard of Thutmose II in front of Pylon IV, creating a

peristyle court (figs. 26–27).¹⁶⁵ However, the western portion was demolished under Amenhotep III to make way for Pylon III (cf. fig. 43), in whose foundations its blocks were re-employed—allowing its modern re-erection. In addition, a porch was raised against the gate of Pylon IV,¹⁶⁶ a depiction in a contemporary tomb painting¹⁶⁷ confirming that its roof was supported by a pair of lotiform columns.

A calcite bark shrine was also constructed by the king (fig. 28). Once again, it was subsequently demolished and its blocks employed in the foundations of Pylons II and III, although only after having been partly taken over by Amenhotep III, before his evolving plans required its removal.¹⁶⁸ The shrine's original location is unclear, although it probably lay close to Thutmose IV's peristyle court.

A little further east, on the masonry shrouding the southern obelisk of Hatshepsut, the institution of a statue-cult of Thutmose IV was recorded in a relief. The actual statue presumably lay close by, in front of Pylon V.¹⁶⁹ This particular statue has not survived, but a number of statues of the king or fragments thereof have been recovered from around the Amun precinct at Karnak.¹⁷⁰

A further relief of Thutmose IV lay in the court between Pylons V and VI, with various now displaced blocks attesting to other activities on behalf of the king around the temple.¹⁷¹ Potentially most significant was an item of work carried out at the eastern extremity of the complex. For thirty-five years an obelisk (fig. 29)¹⁷² had lain in a stonemason's yard on the southern side of Karnak, having been abandoned there at (presumably) the end of the reign of Thutmose III, and for some reason not erected by Amenhotep II. It was erected by Thutmose IV at the "Upper Door" of the Karnak temple, in the eastern part of Thutmose III's contra-temple beyond the Festival Hall (fig. 30). It was removed to Rome in the fourth century ad, where it is now known as the "Lateran" obelisk. The inscription on the front of the obelisk proclaims Thutmose III's previously established intention to make the monument's erection "the first occasion of erecting a single obelisk,"¹⁷³ the original texts being supplemented by inscriptions by the fourth Thutmose giving the history of the obelisk.



Fig. 26. Part of the western portion of the peristyle court of Thutmose IV, originally erected in front of Pylon IV, but dismantled to make way for Pylon III, in whose foundations the blocks were reused. It has now been re-erected in the Open Air Museum at Karnak; the eastern portion remained in place until demolished some time after the New Kingdom.



Fig. 27. Relief showing Thutmose IV, Montju, and Amun in the peristyle court.



Fig. 28. Alabaster bark shrine of Thutmose IV; the upper right tableau was appropriated by Amenhotep III before the shrine was dismantled later in the reign (Karnak, Open Air Museum).

The monument's status as a 'single' obelisk sets it apart from the other obelisks at Karnak, all of which were erected as pairs, flanking gateways. The single obelisk was a specifically solar symbol, the cult object of Heliopolis, and its erection has thus attracted significant discussion as a potential step toward the solar revolution of a few decades later that brought forth the Aten as supreme deity. The solar signification cannot be doubted, but it is notable that the New Kingdom dedication of the contra-temple was to the solar aspect of Amun, rather than to Re-Hor-akhty, from whom the Aten was to emerge.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, one should also note the fact that on his Dream Stela at the Great Sphinx at Giza, Thutmose IV identifies the sphinx with the solar deity Horemakhet,¹⁷⁵ rather than with its kingly author, Khaefre. This may suggest that even if Thutmose IV's orientation was not specifically toward Re-Horakhty, there may have been a distinct shift toward the sun that could then be built upon by his immediate successors into what emerged as the fully fledged Aten cult.

As for when the Aten first appears as a divinity, rather than simply as a word for the physical body of the sun, this, once again, is a matter for debate, although given the Egyptian predilection for personifying any natural phenomenon, the dividing line between divinity and non-divinity is by definition a narrow one.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, when one looks at the writing of the term *'Itn/'Iṭn* as it appears during the New Kingdom, the appearance of a divine determinative is distinctly inconsistent, even within a single inscription. We find it with a divine determinative as far back as Thutmose I,¹⁷⁷ and on occasion through the reigns of Thutmose III,¹⁷⁸ Amenhotep II,¹⁷⁹ and Thutmose IV.¹⁸⁰ However, such a determinative would be just as appropriate in the case of a personification of a natural phenomenon as of a “proper” god: there is certainly as yet no evidence for the Aten having a formal cult at this point.¹⁸¹



Fig. 29. The “single obelisk” of Thutmose III, erected by Thutmose IV at Karnak, taken down by Constantine I, moved to the Circus Maximus in Rome by Constantius II, and shown as re-erected in the Piazza San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome by Pope Sixtus V in 1588.

A large scarab of unknown original provenance referring to campaigning by Thutmose IV has been put forward in support of a significant increase in the

Aten's status during his reign.¹⁸² However, the text contains a number of problems (including a unique apparent orthography of 'Aten'), and both the inscription and the whole scarab have been considered by some as actual or potential fakes. Accordingly, its status in the study of the 'prehistory' of the Aten cult must remain doubtful.



Fig. 30. The eastern part of the Amun precinct at Karnak, showing the locations of the Lateran obelisk (in front of the “contra-temple,” begun by Thutmose III) and the later Aten temple (beyond the eastern enclosure wall).

In contrast to the extensive military activity of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in Syria–Palestine, Thutmose IV has left little evidence of having attempted to emulate them. A text on the masonry erected by Thutmose III around the southern obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak¹⁸³ refers to a “first campaign of victory” against an entity whose name may—or may not—be restored as ‘Naharin’ (Mitanni), or as some other toponyms.¹⁸⁴ As this is the only explicit mention of a royal campaign during the reign,¹⁸⁵ this uncertainty is most frustrating. Contemporary tomb depictions of Mitannian captives¹⁸⁶ might be used to support a campaign in this direction, but cannot be regarded as providing final proof.

On the other hand, whether or not there had been military conflict between Egypt and Mitanni under Thutmose IV, before the end of his reign the king had formally sealed a peaceful alliance with the north Syrian state by marrying a daughter of its king, Artatama I. As already noted, this event is referred to in a

letter between the two kings' grandsons, Tushratta of Mitanni reminding Amenhotep IV that Artatama had only yielded to Thutmose's entreaties for a bride at the seventh time of asking.¹⁸⁷ The import of the allegedly drawn-out nature of the negotiations is unclear.¹⁸⁸ It has been variously suggested that it might have been a reflection of previously poor relations; that it was intended as a means of showing Tushratta in a favorable light (he gave a daughter at the first time of asking—cf. p. 79); or that it was part of an expected diplomatic stately dance. In any case, the unnamed princess arrived in Egypt with an appropriate dowry and, perhaps most importantly, as the seal on a friendship between her country and Egypt that would broadly endure until the dissolution of the Mitannian state seven decades later.¹⁸⁹

Later correspondence, between Amenhotep III and Kadashman-Enlil of Babylon, also alludes to diplomatic exchanges between these powers during Thutmose IV's reign,¹⁹⁰ while signs of a treaty between Egypt and Hatti around this time have also been detected in a later Hittite source.¹⁹¹ Thus, the reign of Thutmose IV seems to definitively mark—for the time being at least!—the transition from relationships between the great powers being based on military might to ones more built around mutual self-interest and diplomacy.

As regards the north Syrian territories that had fallen under Egyptian control through the campaigns of Thutmose III, a letter from Addu-nirari, ruler of Nukhashshe, to (probably) Akhenaten may credit Thutmose IV with placing his grandfather, Taku, on the local throne.¹⁹² Other polities in the north are mentioned on Thutmose IV's chariot,¹⁹³ and a visit by the king himself to Sidon alluded to in a letter to Amenhotep III.¹⁹⁴ It has also been suggested that it was under Thutmose IV that Ugarit first became a formal vassal of Egypt.¹⁹⁵ Further south, in Palestine, some kind of hostile action against Gezer is hinted at in a reference to Syrians from that city as "booty."¹⁹⁶

As noted above (p. 24), Thutmose IV's highest certain regnal year is 8; accordingly, his reign is generally assessed as having lasted around a decade. There have been suggestions that he might have reigned considerably longer, but both of the alleged higher-year dates can confidently be ascribed to other reigns.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, the suggestion that he celebrated at least two *sed*-festivals and thus had a minimum reign of thirty-three years has also been made. However, while texts do indeed mention a "first repetition," they seem to fall in the category of prospective wishes and thus have no chronological import.¹⁹⁸



Fig. 31. The ruins of the memorial temple of Thutmose IV at Thebes-West.

Accordingly, it seems all but certain that after no more than a decade on the throne, Thutmose IV died and was interred at Thebes-West. His memorial temple there (figs. 31, 54)¹⁹⁹ was largely of mud brick and rose in two terraces, following the pattern set by his immediate predecessors. The associated tomb lay in the Valley of the Kings, on the opposite side of the wadi from that of his father. Its design (fig. 17) represents an expansion of that of KV35, most notably adding a third flight of stairs and antechamber before the burial chamber, which is turned through a further ninety degrees. Although the well chamber and antechamber were decorated (in full polychrome—a first in an Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb), the two pillared halls were left devoid of decoration. The great sarcophagus that still stands in the midst of the burial chamber's sunken crypt was, however, completely carved and painted, and the tomb apparently fully furnished, to judge from the fragmentary material recovered.

As was the case in the tomb of Amenhotep II, prematurely deceased members of Thutmose IV's family were buried with him: canopic jars belonging to two of his children were found in the tomb, plus a child's mummy and the debris of another mummy in side chambers. The king's own mummy was ultimately, however, removed to the cache in KV35.²⁰⁰

Besides KV43, in which he was actually buried, Thutmose IV was

responsible for the foundation of a second tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Foundation deposits²⁰¹ show that he had begun a tomb in a hitherto virgin wadi, now known as the West Valley. This tomb, now numbered WV22, was ultimately finished for Amenhotep III (see p. 82), and it has been suggested that it might have been begun for Amenhotep as a prince. On the other hand, it is possible that Thutmose IV had contemplated being buried there, but after initial work had switched back to the necropolis of his immediate ancestors. This could explain the unfinished state of the burial chamber of KV43, since a ten-year reign would normally be regarded as adequate to complete such a sepulcher.

Amenhotep III's age at his accession—probably in II šmw¹—remains a matter for debate. At one extreme there is a suggestion that he was old enough to have served as viceroy of Nubia;² at the other, it has been proposed that he was a very young child.³ Against the latter is a record that in Year 5 the king led a military operation into Upper Nubia (see p. 51) which—assuming that he really did participate—would suggest that he was at least a late-teenager by then. A mummy anciently labeled as that of Amenhotep III⁴ is of only marginal help, not only because of residual doubts concerning its ownership (see pp. 83–84),⁵ but also because of doubts regarding the validity of the modern aging of ancient remains.⁶ On the other hand, the fact that the king probably married only after his accession (see overleaf) suggests that he came to the throne in his early teens at most, with his mother appearing as the king's female counterpoint on his earliest monument.⁷ Another place Mutemwia appears—albeit in a context created much later in the reign—is in the 'divine birth' scenes in Luxor temple, where Amenhotep III's conception is attributed to Amun, who had taken the guise of (or become incarnate in) Thutmose IV for the occasion (fig. 32).⁸

In his titulary, Amenhotep moved away from the 'Akheper-' and 'Menkheper-' pattern used for the prenomena of his predecessors in favor of 'Nebmaatre.' He also cited Maat, goddess of cosmic order, in his most generally-used Horus name—'Strong Bull, Appearing in Maat.' This emphasis on Maat is interesting, given the importance accorded to "living in Maat" in the subsequent reign of Akhenaten (see pp. 107–108). In his nomen, Amenhotep III proclaims himself "Ruler of Thebes," thus distinguishing himself from Amenhotep I and II.

The remaining two names, the Nebty and Golden Falcon, had core forms respectively presenting the king as an upholder of law and as the smiter of Egypt's Asiatic foes.⁹ However, it should be noted that later in the reign, Amenhotep III's non-cartouche names were, as with most pharaohs from the time of Thutmose I until the late Third Intermediate Period, varied and/or had epithets added when used in specific contexts or geographic locations.



Fig. 32. Part of the “divine birth” sequence of Amenhotep III at Luxor, showing the moment of conception.

Given Mutemwia’s aforementioned presence in contexts where a wife would normally have been expected, the king seems to have been unmarried at his accession.¹⁰ However, he probably married fairly soon afterwards, his bride Tiye being the daughter of a chariotry officer from Akhmim, Yuya,¹¹ and his wife

Tjuiu. It has been speculated that the family may have been related to the queen mother Mutemwia (with Yuya perhaps being her brother) as a means of explaining how an apparently modest provincial family managed to supply the new great wife of the king (see also p. 167).¹²

In addition to the ‘ranking’ titles of *ỉry-pꜣt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* and *smr-wꜣty*,¹³ Yuya held the military offices of Master of Horse and Lieutenant of the King for Chariotry.¹⁴ He also held two posts in the Min cult, Prophet of Min and Overseer of the Cattle of Min-Lord-of-Akhmim, all suggesting a military officer who was also a prominent figure in his native town. It has also been long suspected that Yuya was of a foreign—perhaps north Syrian—extraction, partly on the basis of the fluid orthography of his name, his unusual physiognomy (as revealed by his mummy), and the fact that the heartland of horse lore was in that region. However, there is no direct evidence to decide the matter.¹⁵

Yuya was also God’s Father (*ỉt-nꜥr*), a title that has been much discussed, especially with regard to its implications for its bearers during the New Kingdom. It is certainly not a contraction of the fairly junior priestly title God’s Father of [GOD], but rather a version of a title that goes back to the Old Kingdom, when it was borne by another definite father-in-law of the king, Khui.¹⁶ Between the First and Second Intermediate Periods there are a number of certain examples of it being held by the actual (non-royal) father of a king.¹⁷

New Kingdom usage is fairly limited, although there is a similar, albeit separate, title, *ỉt-nꜥr mry-nꜥr*, ‘God’s Father and Beloved of the God,’ that was borne by a number of senior New Kingdom dignitaries.¹⁸ On the basis of Yuya’s status as father-in-law of the king and the implications of the earlier usages of the title, it has frequently been argued that his ‘simple’ title of God’s Father was at that time a designation of a man whose daughter had married a king. This has some important ramifications for family relationships in the next generation (see pp. 87–89).

Tjuiu also had important sacerdotal affiliations with the Akhmimi Min-cult, being Chief of the Harem of Min, as well as being a Chief of the Harem of Amun and a Chantress of that god. She was also a Royal Ornament, matching her husband’s exalted ranking titles at court—and most frequently Mother of the King’s Great Wife, as a match to Yuya’s status of God’s Father.

Yuya and Tjuiu were granted a tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV46),¹⁹ although the tomb-chapel on the other side of the cliffs that will have gone with this has yet to be identified. It may have lain in the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna/Khokha/Asasif area, where many of the great ones of Amenhotep III’s

reign were buried, but it is also possible that they may have had their tomb in the relatively new necropolis of Qurnet Murai, which directly overlooked the memorial temple of the king (cf. pp. 50, 63–66). It is an inscription on Tjuiu's sarcophagus that provides us with the information that she was also the mother of the Second Prophet of Amun, Anen (see p. 47).

A series of large scarabs exist naming the queen and giving her pedigree alongside the king's titulary and a poetic definition of his dominions as stretching from Karoy (between the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts) to Naharin (Mitanni, in northern Syria).²⁰ It has often been assumed that they were intended to commemorate the wedding of Amenhotep III and Tiye—hence their being dubbed 'Marriage Scarabs.' However, they are undated and it is quite possible that they were issued at some other point in the reign. They are also without parallel in their content, and clearly say something about the status of Tiye.

Indeed, following the marriage, Tiye's prominence in the record exceeds that of any previous great wife, standing in particular contrast to the invisibility of royal wives under Amenhotep II. She regularly partners Amenhotep III in two- and three-dimensional representations in temples and tombs and is named beside him on numerous small items. As we will see (pp. 53–64), she would also later share in the divinity that accrued to the king following his First Jubilee. In this, Tiye in many ways provided a prototype for the roles taken by her daughter-in-law Nefertiti and Rameses II's spouse Nefertiry, both of whom can similarly be distinguished from earlier and later great wives.

Seven children of Amenhotep III and Tiye are known, although it is quite likely that there were others who died in infancy or are otherwise not attested by name.²¹ Of the two known sons,²² the elder was Thutmose (B),²³ who is known to have served first as *sem*-priest at Memphis, before advancing to high priest there and also becoming Overseer of the Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt before his death (cf. p. 30). As such he was responsible for the earliest known burial of an Apis bull at Saqqara (fig. 33),²⁴ and is also known from the sarcophagus of his pet cat and from two of his funerary statuettes.²⁵ The latter give a clue as to his potential date of death, as their features seem to be the style that came into use at the time of Amenhotep III's First Jubilee (see p. 53). Given that a new heir seems to have been appointed during the Year 30 jubilee year (see pp. 75–76), Thutmose would seem likely to have died in the midst of those celebrations and been buried with funerary statuettes in the newly adopted style.²⁶ The second son, who went on to become Amenhotep IV, has minimal

attestation during Amenhotep III's reign, only being known directly from a jar seal from Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata,²⁷ although probably implicitly through a graffito commemorating his appointment as heir.



Fig. 33. Relief of Thutmose B standing behind Amenhotep III, probably from the chapel of Apis I, interred by the prince while high priest of Ptah at Memphis (Munich G193).

Four daughters are known from monuments of their father's reign. Sitamun B (fig. 34), Iset C, and Henuttaneb are all depicted with him in his temple at Soleb (see pp. 69–70), while Nebetiah is shown with Henuttaneb and another of their sisters on a colossal statue of their parents from the king's memorial temple.²⁸ A final apparent daughter, Baketaten, is only known from one tomb-chapel at Amarna, where she is shown alongside the widowed Tiye in contexts that are best explained by interpreting Baketaten as her daughter, and thus implicitly of Amenhotep III as well.²⁹ It has, however, been suggested that Baketaten might have been a daughter of Akhenaten by his second wife Kiya, left in the care of her grandmother after Kiya's disgrace.³⁰ However, there is no direct support for this, with the name of Kiya's daughter nowhere preserved (cf. pp. 131–32).

Both Sitamun and Iset bore the additional title of King's Great Wife during the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign.³¹ As is the case with daughters of

Rameses II who acquired the title, it remains unclear whether this was simply a matter of their taking on ritual and court duties associated with this title, or whether it also involved a sexual relationship with their father. However, if the titles were acquired as part of the First Jubilee activities, their promotion is likely to have been linked to the father's divine transformation (cf. pp. 53–54) and may have had more of a theological than political or physical basis.



Fig. 34. Sitamun as depicted on the back of her chair. From KV46 (Cairo CG51113).

A large number of officials are attested from Amenhotep III's reign, but in few cases is the full succession known. This is certainly the case with the vizierate, where it is possible that Thutmose xx may have spanned the juncture between the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.³² The career of Ptahmose vi

presents us with significant issues, as on the majority of his monuments,³³ he bears both the titles of ‘high priest of Amun’ and ‘southern vizier,’ a combination otherwise almost unknown.³⁴ The key question is whether this represents successive appointments, with one post his ultimate ‘operative’ one and the other an earlier post held in an ‘emeritus’ role, or whether Ptahmose most irregularly held both posts simultaneously. Unfortunately, the available data does not allow a judgment between these two options, although the novelty of such a dual office would tend toward the earlier alternative.

In any case, as southern vizier, Ptahmose vi would have preceded Ramose xx,³⁵ who is attested in Year 30 and was still in office under Amenhotep IV, who is depicted in his tomb, TT55 (see pp. 74–75, 101). Ptahmose also held the post of Overseer of Prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt, a title recently (and later) held by the high priests of Ptah. Also in office in Year 30 was the northern vizier³⁶ Amenhotep-Huy (xx),³⁷ who also held a number of posts spanning the vizierial jurisdictions,³⁸ and seems to have acted as a commissioner for Syro-Palestinian affairs.³⁹ Huy seems to have left office late in Amenhotep III’s reign, as the Saqqara tomb of a vizier with the Levantine name Aperel contained material naming both Amenhotep III and his successor.⁴⁰ The probable successor to Sobekhotep as Treasurer was one Meryre (xx)⁴¹—the tutor of a Prince Siatum—who may have served until a little before Year 30, when Ptahmose vii is to be found in office.⁴²



Fig. 35. Statue of the Second Prophet of Amun, brother of Queen Tiye. From Karnak (Turin 1377).

In the sacerdotal world, at Karnak, one Meryptah (xx) is known to have been high priest in Year 20,⁴³ but the only other name attached to the office during the reign of Amenhotep III is that of Ptahmose vi, noted above as also a holder of the vizierate. Ptahmose's position in the succession—before or after Meryptah—

is unknown, while likewise obscure is whether May,⁴⁴ high priest in Year 4 of Amenhotep IV (see p. 102),⁴⁵ might have come into office under Amenhotep III. One potential candidate for a further high priest of the reign is a certain otherwise unplaced Amenemopet.⁴⁶

Similarly patchy is our knowledge of the Karnak high priest's immediate deputies. Queen Tiye's brother Anen (fig. 35) became Second Prophet before Year 20,⁴⁷ serving also as Greatest of Seers (high priest) of the (presumably) southern cult of Re; he was apparently succeeded early in the reign of Amenhotep IV by Simut, who had held the office of Fourth Prophet for much of Amenhotep III's reign.⁴⁸ The post of Third Prophet was held successively by Nefer and his son Amenemhat xx⁴⁹—a rare example of a hereditary succession in the Amun priesthood at this time.⁵⁰

At Memphis, it seems that Ptahmose iv continued in office during the early years of the reign.⁵¹ He was succeeded—directly or after the intervention of further pontiff(s)⁵²—by the crown prince Thutmose B, who, as already noted, seems to have died in Year 30. He was then followed in office by Ptahmose v, son of Menkheper (fig. 36),⁵³ and apparently a relation of Ptahmose iv's father.⁵⁴ He seems to have been succeeded late in the reign by his son(?)⁵⁵ Pahemnetjer, who will then have continued in office under Amenhotep IV.

Regarding other major cults, the only high priests who seem to be known are Amenemhat xxi, Greatest of Seers at Heliopolis, active in Years 30 and 34,⁵⁶ and one Tjaitjai, High Priest of Horus of Hebenu.⁵⁷



Fig. 36. Statue of the high priest of Ptah Ptahmose v, dedicated by his successor, Pahemnetjer. From Saqqara (Florence 1790).

Beyond the ‘official’ spheres of central government and the great temples, the power structures of the royal court acted, as was the case throughout the New Kingdom, as an alternate route for the king to exercise power, as well as its

formal role of managing his domestic affairs. In both contexts the Chief Steward played the pivotal role, his status often being reflected in the size of tomb-chapel bestowed by the grateful monarch. By this measure, the vast tomb TT48⁵⁸ marks out Amenemhat-Surero (formerly an Overseer of the Cattle of Amun) as a particularly important figure—although its subsequent mutilation hints at a precipitous fall from grace some time after his last attestation in Year 30. He may have been followed—or preceded—by one Re (formerly Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt).⁵⁹

Also substantial figures were two of the king's Memphite household stewards. Amenhotep-Huy xxi⁶⁰ was the elder brother of the vizier Ramose and the son of a former mayor of Memphis, Heby; his duties included directing the king's building projects at Memphis and acting as festival leader in the temples of the city. Some time after the First Jubilee, Huy was succeeded by his son Ipy,⁶¹ who continued in office under Amenhotep IV. Ipy ultimately expanded his authority to embrace the royal palace at Amarna as well, and was allocated a tomb there⁶² (see p. 133).

However, the most prominent of those working directly for the king was a certain Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu.⁶³ A native of Athribis, he seems to have come to the king's attention when already middle-aged,⁶⁴ having served as a Scribe of Recruits before being appointed to manage Amenhotep III's First Jubilee and as Overseer of All the Works of the King. It was thus he who facilitated the huge building program that preceded the jubilee and must have played a key role in the revolutionary theology that underpinned it (see pp. 53–54). His exceptional position is demonstrated by his depiction in scenes of the jubilee ceremonies (fig. 62), and subsequently by a series of special commissions from the king.

Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu's exceptional status was cemented by his being granted, not only a probable tomb-chapel on Qurnet Murai,⁶⁵ but also a fully fledged freestanding mortuary temple a little to the east, close to the rear wall of Amenhotep III's own mortuary complex (fig. 54).⁶⁶ His status endured long after his death when he became, like the Third Dynasty builder, Imhotep, a god whose cult endured into Ptolemaic times.⁶⁷

As well as those who served the king directly, the royal household encompassed other important individuals, the Stewards of Queen Tiye, who included one Mery xxi⁶⁸ and, during the latter years of the reign, Kheruef. The latter's tomb, TT192,⁶⁹ is an important source of information on the king's jubilee rituals. The tomb also shows, however, that Kheruef ultimately fell into disgrace—a fate that was not uncommon for royal stewards (cf. Surero, just

above). Given their close relationship with the royal family, they were clearly in a position to both confer patronage and garner enemies.

Although none apparently matched Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu's mortuary complex, other members of the nobility of the reign of Amenhotep III had some very impressive funerary structures created for them. We have already noted Surero's TT48, whose tomb-chapel ceiling was supported by no fewer than seventy-four columns, while Kheruef's TT192 had forty-eight, and Ramose's TT55⁷⁰ forty. In these tombs, the old 'T-shaped' tomb-chapel that had long been standard evolved into far more impressive structures that aspired to rock-hewn temples with hypostyle halls.⁷¹

In addition to this—and partly as a consequence of their much greater size than had hitherto been normal—these tomb-chapels' locations shifted from the earlier preferred position of high on the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna to sites much lower down. The upper slopes of that hill were riddled with tombs and, while some worthies still founded chapels there, they were often structurally problematic—as can be seen by the state of the tomb of queen Tiye's brother Anen, TT120.⁷²

Many of the most important Thebans thus built their tombs in the low-lying areas surrounding the northern (Khokha/Asasif), eastern, and southern sides of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Here the rock was generally of adequate quality to allow decoration in relief—in contrast to the painting on a thick mud-plaster backing that was all but *de rigueur* in the friable rock at higher elevations—with more space for the expansive sepulchers of the kind just noted. On the other hand, geology and the desire to avoid a chapel that was entirely hidden in a deep cutting—in marked contrast to the earlier “tombs with views” high on the hill—the distance from the surface to the floor of the chapels was kept to a minimum. This led to what turned out to be inadequately thick roofs for the tombs' expansive halls and—in spite of their forests of columns—many roofs have long since collapsed as a result of earth movements, leaving the monuments in a sad state.⁷³

Perhaps as a further reaction to the filling-up of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurna hill, as well as the fact that it overlooked the site of the royal memorial temple, the hill of Qurnet Murai⁷⁴ began to receive high-status burials for the first time during the reign of Amenhotep III.⁷⁵ These included the Nubian viceroy Merymose (TT383)⁷⁶ and, as just noted, probably Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu.

Away from Thebes, the reign of Amenhotep III seems to have seen the

resumption of high-status burials at Saqqara after an apparently long gap. The vizier Aperel had a tomb in the escarpment at Saqqara, overlooking the site of Memphis,⁷⁷ contrasting with his predecessor as northern vizier, Amenhotep-Huy xx, who had been buried at Thebes.⁷⁸ The lost tomb of the Steward Amenhotep-Huy xxi was also certainly at Saqqara,⁷⁹ while tombs of lesser individuals are also now coming to light.⁸⁰ However, the earlier picture may be skewed by the fact that much of the Saqqara escarpment remains deeply buried in rubble, in part covered by the modern asphalt road that rises up the plateau, and it is possible that earlier tombs lie inaccessible below this.

The first dated events of Amenhotep III's reign are the opening of quarries at Tura in Years 1 and 2 (see p. 56) and a wild bull hunt by the king in Year 2, recorded on another series of commemorative scarabs.⁸¹ These allege that the king—probably still a youth—killed ninety-six bulls. Yet another group of scarabs dealing with the king's evident love of blood sports⁸² record that during his first decade of rule he killed 102 (or 110) lions.⁸³

Year 5 saw the previously mentioned campaign against rebellious Nubian tribes, allegedly led by the king himself and yielding thirty thousand prisoners,⁸⁴ perhaps extending beyond the Fifth Cataract to the area of Kurgus, the southernmost outpost of Egyptian penetration into Nubia.⁸⁵ Gold obtained through this campaign was later stated to have been dedicated to the building of Amenhotep III's memorial temple. It remains unclear how or if this campaign relates to one carried out by the viceroy of Nubia Merymose⁸⁶ at an unknown date.⁸⁷ Given that Merymose's action may have been restricted to the area around the Second Cataract, it may have been a separate campaign, perhaps significantly later in the reign.⁸⁸

Scarabs also relate how in Year 10 a daughter of Shuttarna II of Mitanni arrived as a diplomatic bride,⁸⁹ continuing the practice apparently initiated in the previous reign. From a later source,⁹⁰ it is known that Gilukhepa had only been dispatched from Mitanni after six times of asking—one less time than had been necessary for Thutmose IV to pry a lady out of Artatama I (see pp. 36–37). Princess Gilukhepa came with a retinue of no fewer than 317 women, and was but one of a number of foreign ladies espoused by Amenhotep III to cement Egypt's web of alliances (see pp. 79–81). The following year, scarabs⁹¹ record the digging of a lake at Djarukha⁹² for Queen Tiye, 3,700 cubits long by 700 wide (1,925 x 365 meters).

These “Lake” scarabs state that the new lake was inaugurated from the royal boat *tḥn-’Itn*—‘the dazzling Aten,’ a phrase that would ultimately become a major epithet of Amenhotep III himself. However, the question remains whether the Aten is here yet a ‘god’ (in the sense and form in which it is later worshiped at Karnak and Amarna), or merely the divine personification of the globe of the sun—a subtly different thing, as already noted (cf. pp. 34–35). The ambiguity remains in the vast majority of mentions of the Aten during the reign of Amenhotep III, which can all be referred to the divine physical globe of the sun just as well as some ‘god.’ A key issue remains whether a number of individuals holding sacerdotal or administrative titles citing an estate of the Aten should be dated to the reign of Amenhotep III or to that of Amenhotep IV.⁹³ On the other hand, references to the Aten greatly multiply during the reign⁹⁴ and, however it is to be defined, the Aten becomes a very significant divine entity as the reign progresses.

A key stage in the known evolution of the Aten—and which clearly marked his full transformation into a temple-worthy ‘god’—was when he adopted the so-called ‘didactic’ name of “(Living-)Re-Horakhty-who-rejoices-in-the-horizon-in-his-name-of-Shu-Re-who-is-in-the-Aten.” He bore this name until at least Year 9 of Akhenaten, in almost all known cases enclosed in double cartouches (the initial “Living” is apparently only found after the addition of cartouches: see p. 89). An embryonic version of this designation of the Aten is to be found on a stela from Amenhotep III’s memorial temple that can be dated stylistically to shortly before the king’s First Jubilee.⁹⁵ The stela shows Re-Horakhty receiving offerings from the king, the label-text reading “Re-Horakhty-in-his-name-Shu-which-is-in-the-Aten,” significantly lacking not only the “Living” element, but also the reference to the “horizon,” thus showing that we are not yet in the presence of an independent godhead. Nevertheless, this innovation is extremely important and supports the view that the First Jubilee theological innovations formed a key part of the background to the emergence of the fully-fledged Aten.

Beyond Year 11, few dated documents survive until the final decade of the reign. Most of the exceptions are dockets on wine-jar fragments recovered from the king’s West Theban palace at Malqata (see pp. 63–64),⁹⁶ plus a private statue with a decree dated to Year 20.⁹⁷ It has been suggested that this gap in dated records was the result of a national catastrophe—specifically a plague—ravaging the country for over a decade.⁹⁸

While there is certainly evidence for plague in Egypt around the end of reign of Tutankhamun, this being a potential explanation for the high mortality rate in the royal family during the last years of Akhenaten (see p. 143), evidence from Amenhotep III's time is strictly limited. A Babylonian princess married to the king is referred to in a later letter as having died "in a [pl]ague,"⁹⁹ but the actual date is unclear, only that it was before (the earlier part of—see pp. 135–36) the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. The only evidence otherwise cited has been the vast number of statues of the (among other things) goddess of pestilence, Sekhmet, that were erected during the reign, at least partly in the king's memorial temple. All other points raised, while supporting the presence of plague in the eastern Mediterranean during the last half of the fourteenth century,¹⁰⁰ do nothing to indicate that the middle of the reign of Amenhotep III was particularly so affected. Rather, it seems more likely that the lack of dated material is simply a matter of accidents of preservation. Looking across the broad sweep of New Kingdom history, dated records are very much the exception rather than the rule, those exceptions being principally the campaign records of the inveterate soldier Thutmose III and the Rameside administrative texts from the Theban necropolis—both genres of texts wholly lacking from Amenhotep III's time.

The thirtieth anniversary of a king's accession was in many cases marked by the celebration of a *heb-sed* jubilee (cf. p. 20).¹⁰¹ In this, Amenhotep III was no exception, but the ramifications of that celebration (fig. 62) seem to far outstrip those of any earlier king.¹⁰² First, major construction work was carried out at a number of sites to produce structures directly related to the celebration of the festival. This work was widespread and on a large scale, and intended to be completed in advance of the celebrations themselves—testifying to a faith in the king's longevity. In addition to the building work, a huge number of stone statues of the king and of deities were commissioned, including the hundreds of broadly uniform images of Sekhmet—again a huge advance investment of resources.



Fig. 37. Cult image of Nebmaatre-the-Dazzling-Aten. From a statue cache in the Luxor temple (Luxor Museum).

Second, following the jubilee, the iconography of the king was fundamentally altered from a ‘conventional’ pharaoh to a being with the features of a child—a chubby face with oversized eyes and lips, but small ears and nose

—and extensive solar additions to his clothing and regalia, including the affectation of *shebyu*- and *wah*-collars¹⁰³ (see fig. 45). His prenomen could also now be written with a cartouche-free rebus, an elaborate form reading “Nebmaatre-is-the-Dazzling-Aten.”¹⁰⁴

The jubilee seems thus to have not only fulfilled its usual purpose of rejuvenating the king, but also his formal deification,¹⁰⁵ intended to facilitate his union with the sun as his incarnation on earth, achieving something normally only envisaged as occurring in death.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, it seems that his combination of earthly royalty and solar deity formed the foundation of the conception seen under Aten as a cartouched divine solar king—that is, the post-jubilee Amenhotep III *was* the Aten as envisaged by his son when he became king.

Three-dimensional representations of the now-deified king ranged from a conventional human-form cult image from Luxor (fig. 37),¹⁰⁷ through fusion with an anthropoid deity¹⁰⁸ and depiction with the enlarged belly of a fecundity figure,¹⁰⁹ to a striking representation as bird-man—presumably as Re-Horakhty.¹¹⁰ However, it seems clear that although primarily a solar god, Amenhotep III could also be a manifestation of the full pantheon of deities.¹¹¹ Tiye also shared in this deification, wearing the divine *shebyu*-collar, and her status made explicit at the Sedeinga temple as Hathor and Tefnut (fig. 65), and by a statuette that depicts her with the body of Thouris (fig. 38).¹¹² Her quasi-kingly status is also shown by her depiction as a sphinx trampling on enemies on the side of her throne in the tomb-chapel of Kheruef, providing a prototype for her daughter-in-law Nefertiti’s later depiction in full smiting mode.¹¹³



Fig. 38. Statuette of Tiye with the body of Thouris (Turin C.566).

Further jubilees were held in Years 34 and 37, but neither seems to have had the conceptual impact that the first had done. The principal evidence for the Second Jubilee is in the form of docketed sherds from Malqata, while that for the third comprises, as well as further dockets, reliefs on the façade of the tomb-

chapel of Tiye's Steward Kheruef (fig. 39). These complement another set of images in the tomb commemorating the First Jubilee; curiously, the Second Jubilee is ignored, suggesting that it might have been a rather more low-key celebration than the other two.

Perhaps carried out to provide material for the Third Jubilee was an expedition to Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai in Year 36.¹¹⁴ This included the addition of a series of statuettes of the royal family to the Hathor temple there (e.g., fig. 40).¹¹⁵

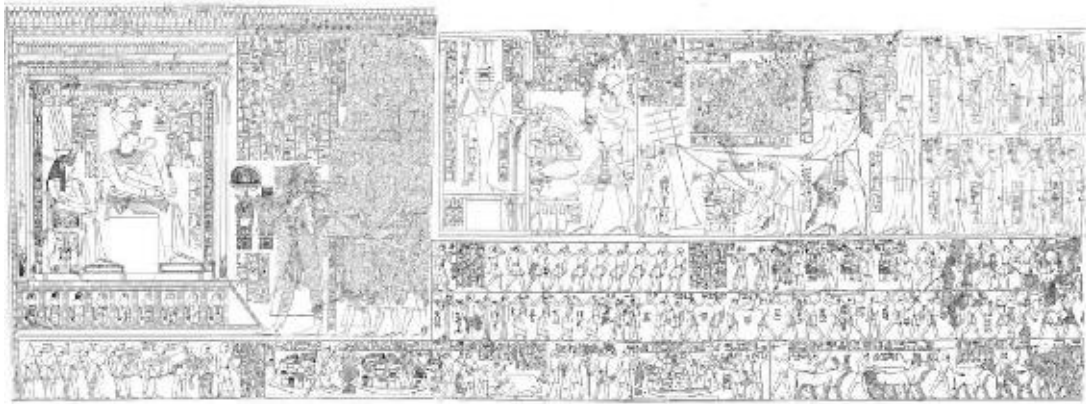


Fig. 39. Amenhotep III's Third Jubilee celebrations, as shown on the porch of the tomb-chapel of Kheruef (TT192).



Fig. 40. Head of Tiye from Serabit el-Khadim (Cairo JE38257).

Amenhotep III's temple-building program¹¹⁶ was indeed extensive, although later demolitions and rebuildings have meant that many are extant only as fragments. This is particularly true in northern Egypt, at such sites as Bubastis,¹¹⁷ Athribis,¹¹⁸ and Heliopolis.¹¹⁹ Even the king's once-vast temple of

Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah at Memphis¹²⁰ is all but vanished, surviving only in a contemporary description and a few isolated pieces on the ground. On the basis of the orthography of the king's name in the former, the monument appears to have been completed early in the fourth decade of the reign.¹²¹ According to this description, it was built on the floodplain—something very unusual for an Egyptian temple, but something to be found in at least one more of Amenhotep III's monuments (see p. 66). Material for works at these and other northern sites was doubtless derived from the limestone quarries at Tura, where aforementioned inscriptions commemorating the extraction of stone in Years 1 and 2 survive (fig. 41).¹²²



Fig. 41. Fragment from the rock-cut stela at the Tura quarries commemorating the extraction of limestone for Amenhotep III's "mansions of millions of years" in Year 2 (Toledo 1925.522).

Further south, the harem palace at Medinet Gurob at the mouth of the Fayyum appears to have been a significant location during the reign,¹²³ being the apparent source of a number of important works of art, including a small wooden head of Tiye that seems to date to the latter third of Akhenaten's reign (fig. 108).

Blocks from Kom el-Ahmar/Hebenu indicate work there,¹²⁴ as do remains at Ashmunein (fig. 42)¹²⁵ and the Osiris precinct at Abydos.¹²⁶ Perhaps relating to the work at Ashmunein is a quarry stela at Deir el-Bersha dated to Year 1.¹²⁷ Amenhotep III also appears among the ancient kings named in the crypts of the temple at Dendara by Ptolemy XII, suggesting that he may have been a builder of one of the earlier structures on the site.¹²⁸



Fig. 42. One of the four colossal quartzite baboons erected by Amenhotep III at the temple of Thoth at Ashmunein.

The Theban area is where the majority of the king's monumental works survive.¹²⁹ As with all other kings of the New Kingdom, Amenhotep III extended the temple complexes at Karnak. At the Amun temenos, a new façade

was provided in the form of Pylon III (figs. 43–44), which replaced the Thutmose II/IV forecourt in front of Pylon IV, to which Amenhotep III had added a gateway earlier in his reign. The short gap between the new pylon and Pylon IV seems to have been the result of restricted viable building space to the west of the temple: ongoing remote sensing work indicates that the river retreated westward throughout the New Kingdom, meaning that the site of Pylon III may have been under water a century or two earlier.¹³⁰ Only the eastern face of the pylon had been fully decorated by the king's death—during the last decade of his reign, based on its style. The western (front) face had been left largely undecorated, the porch that stood in front of the new pylon being still incomplete at the king's death, its decoration being added by Amenhotep IV (see pp. 89–90).¹³¹ It is possible that a linear colonnaded entrance hall of the kind surviving at Amenhotep III's Luxor temple (see fig. 49) was also intended, as the foundation bed of Pylon III extends under what are now the columns of the central aisle of the early Nineteenth Dynasty Hypostyle Hall.¹³²



Fig. 43. View from the north, showing Pylons III and IV, together with the eastern end of the Nineteenth Dynasty Hypostyle Hall. The peristyle court of Thutmose IV was largely demolished to make way for Pylon III.



Fig. 44. The east face of the north tower of Pylon III, showing the bark of Amun carved in the thirties of Amenhotep III's reign. A ghostly erased figure behind the king in the center of the photograph was once identified as a co-regent Amenhotep IV, but has subsequently been recognized as an intrusive image of Tutankhamun. The west face of the pylon was left largely undecorated.

Other known work at Karnak in the Amun complex comprised the addition of reliefs, carved in the thirties of the reign, to the west face of Pylon V.¹³³ Also to be dated to the last decade of the reign are the stone doorways of a brick storehouse (fig. 45)¹³⁴ and the beginning of work on Pylon X. However, only eight courses of the latter and one of the associated colossi were in place by Amenhotep III's death (fig. 46);¹³⁵ the pylon was finally completed during the reign of Horemheb. The gate was completed by Amenhotep IV (see p. 89), only to be subsequently dismantled and its blocks employed in finishing the pylon itself.

To the north, during the first decade of the reign¹³⁶ a new temple was erected that was originally a bark station dedicated to Amun-Re. However, it was poorly built and later partly collapsed, the rebuilt temple being dedicated to Montju by the time of its restoration under Taharqa (fig. 47).¹³⁷ Amenhotep III's work there was carried out in three phases, the second adding a solar court and the last one perhaps forming part of the building programs associated with the king's jubilees.



Fig. 45. 'Fourth decade'–style representation of Amenhotep III from a doorway of his storehouse at Karnak (Luxor Museum).



Fig. 46. Pylon X at Karnak, the first eight courses of which were laid under Amenhotep III. The quartzite colossus to the right of the gateway was once twenty meters tall, was commissioned for Amenhotep III's First Jubilee, and was named "Nebmaatre-Montju-of-Rulers."

It has generally been assumed that Amenhotep III was responsible for some building work in the Mut complex to the south of Pylon X, in view of the presence there of a large number of statues of Sekhmet made during his reign (fig. 48). However, no actual remains attributable to him have been identified there, apart from a now-destroyed pillared structure nearby:¹³⁸ the Sekhmet figures may actually have been moved there from the king's memorial temple during the Third Intermediate Period.¹³⁹

South of Karnak, and connected to it by the processional way to which Amenhotep had begun to add Pylon X, during the second decade of his reign the king replaced a sanctuary erected by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III with the first phase of what became the Luxor temple (figs. 49–50). Many of the blocks of the earlier structure appear to have had their decorated surfaces chiseled away and been reused for the new building.¹⁴⁰ A large courtyard—the so-called 'sun court'—was added to the temple from the late twenties of the reign onward, while a lofty linear entrance hall—perhaps paralleling the putative similar element at Karnak (see p. 57)—its roof supported by columns over twenty meters high, was still under construction at the time of Amenhotep III's death. This was ultimately completed some two decades later, under Tutankhamun and Ay.¹⁴¹



Fig. 47. The temple Khaemmaat at Karnak North that later became the temple of Montju.



Fig. 48. The Mut temple at Karnak, showing some of the several hundred Amenhotep III–era statues of Sekhmet there. It is unclear whether they were originally installed here or were imported during the Third Intermediate Period.



Fig. 49. Luxor temple, showing the colonnaded entrance hall, 'sun court,' and hypostyle portico of the original temple of Amenhotep III.

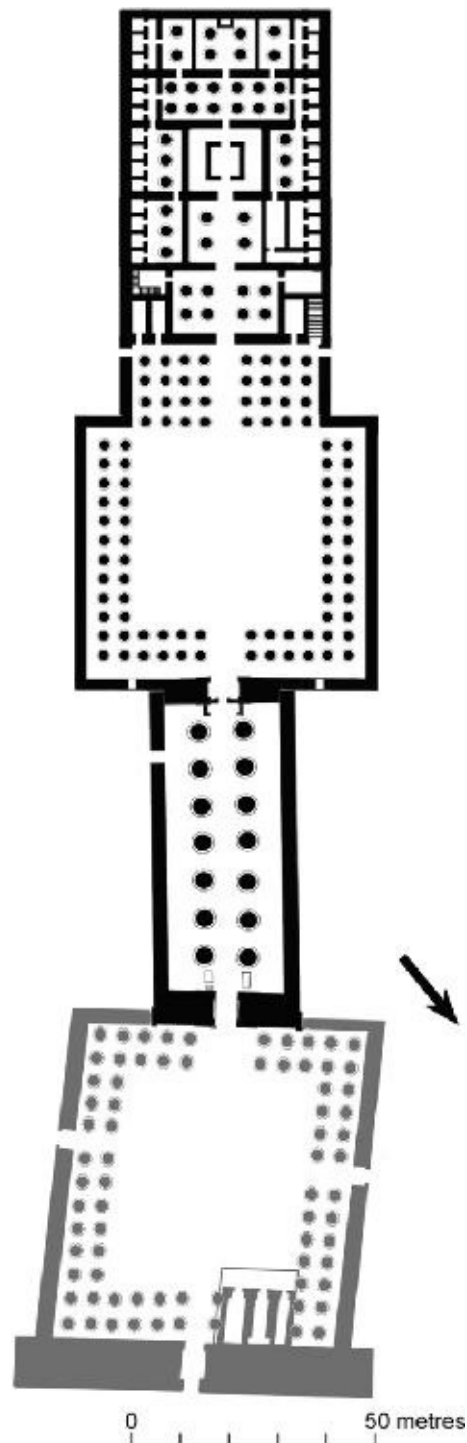


Fig. 50. Plan of the Luxor temple. The forecourt added by Rameses II is shown in a lighter shade.

On the west bank, extensive works¹⁴² were carried out under the twin brothers¹⁴³ Suti and Hor (fig. 51), both of whom seem to have fallen

significantly from favor later on.¹⁴⁴ Activities included rebuilding the memorial temple Amenhotep II and raising two vast constructions of Amenhotep III's own. One was the temple and palace complex at Malqata at the southernmost extreme of the Theban necropolis (figs. 52–53).¹⁴⁵ Named the “Palace-of-the-Dazzling-Sun-Disk” (*'Itn-ṯḥn*) and the “House of Rejoicing,” it seems—like so many other of his monuments—to have been first used for his First Jubilee, with further extensions added for his second and third such festivals. It included residential, administrative, ceremonial, and ritual elements, with a large temple of Amun—in spite of the complex's naming for the Aten. The terraced Amun temple seems to have been built for the Second Jubilee and has been argued to be explicitly modeled on Old Kingdom mortuary temple prototypes to contribute to the conduct of the jubilee.¹⁴⁶

The 2.5-kilometer eastern frontage of the complex looked over a vast artificial lake, the Birket Habu, which still remained unfinished at the king's death. Like the rest of the complex, it was built in stages, with part of the original palace demolished to make way for one of its expansions. Another may have been dug on the opposite bank of the Nile, but its exact context remains obscure.¹⁴⁷



Fig. 51. Stela of Suti and Hor, the twins who directed Amenhotep III's building projects at Thebes-West. It seems to have been one of two installed in their (now lost) tomb-chapel at Thebes-West. The figures of both were later erased, a phenomenon extended to all human figures on the companion stela to this piece. This seems to have happened prior to the erasure of the name of Amun during the reign of Akhenaten. These divine names were later restored (BM EA826).

Also associated with Malqata are a ceremonial jubilee platform 2.5

kilometers to the southwest known as the Kom el-Samak¹⁴⁸ and an enigmatic complex at Kom el-Abd, with a platform, a royal rest house, and subsidiary buildings, a further kilometer southwest, overlooking a one-hundred-meter-wide cleared strip leading five kilometers northwest into the cliffs.¹⁴⁹

Two kilometers north of Malqata was built the king's memorial temple (fig. 54),¹⁵⁰ under the overall direction of its steward, Meryptah xxi, a brother of the Memphite high priest, Ptahmose iv,¹⁵¹ and Inhermose, its clerk of works.¹⁵² The building was something rather different from the memorial temples erected for Amenhotep III's predecessors that, although of rather different conception from their Old and Middle Kingdom ancestors,¹⁵³ were relatively small structures primarily intended for the posthumous benefit of the dead king. That of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan ultimately had a peristyle court as large as the whole of the Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut, with a series of pylon-fronted courts and an enclosure that covered some three square kilometers. This also embraced a number of subsidiary sanctuaries, including a limestone temple of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, approached from a northern gateway via a processional way flanked by colossal recumbent jackals. The way from this passed the temple of Thutmose IV and perhaps terminated in the area of that of Amenhotep II—which, as already noted, had undergone reconstruction under the third Amenhotep.

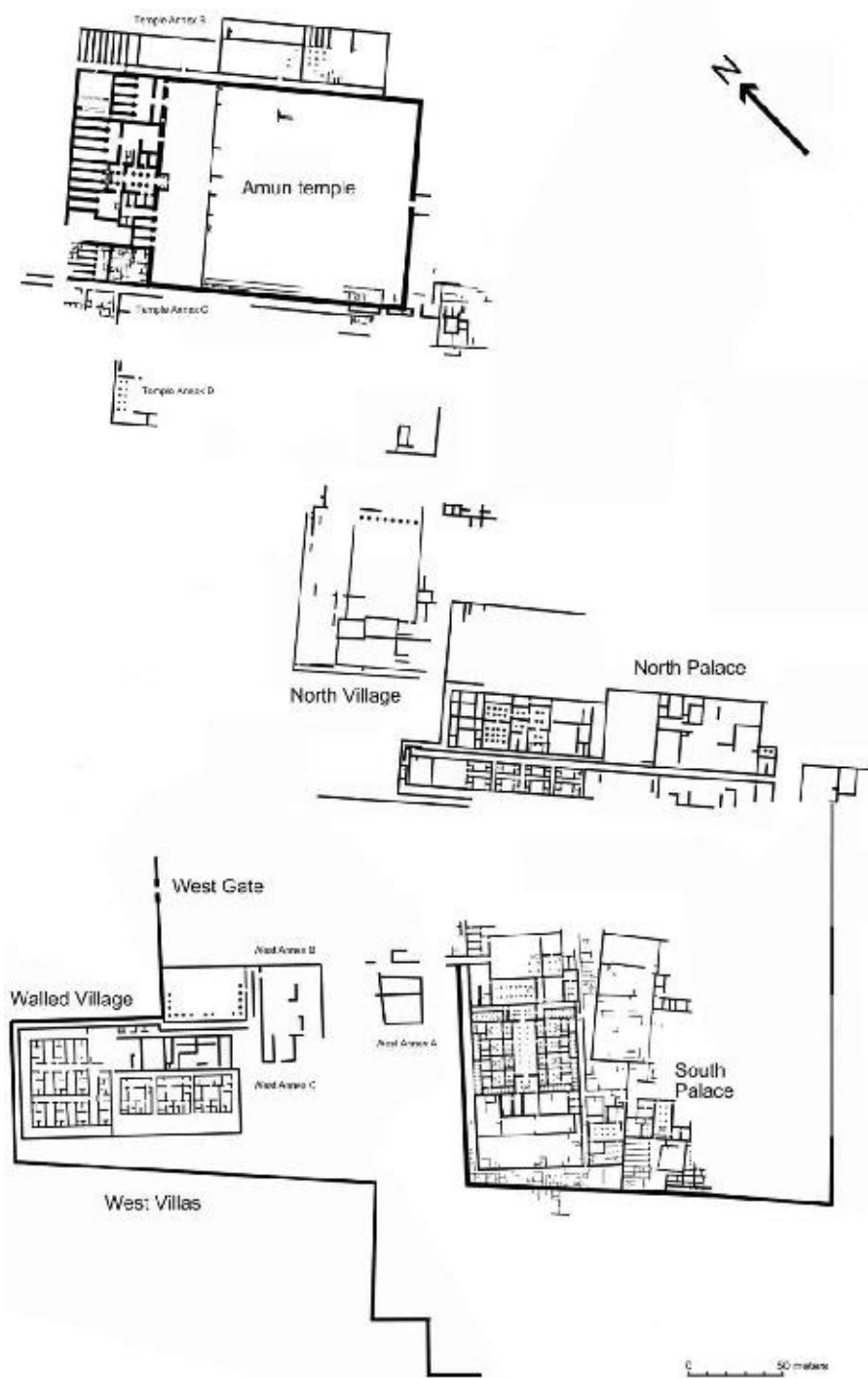


Fig. 52. Plan of Amenhotep III's palace complex at Malqata.



Fig. 53. Aerial view of Malqata, with the Amun temple on the right and the South Palace on the left.

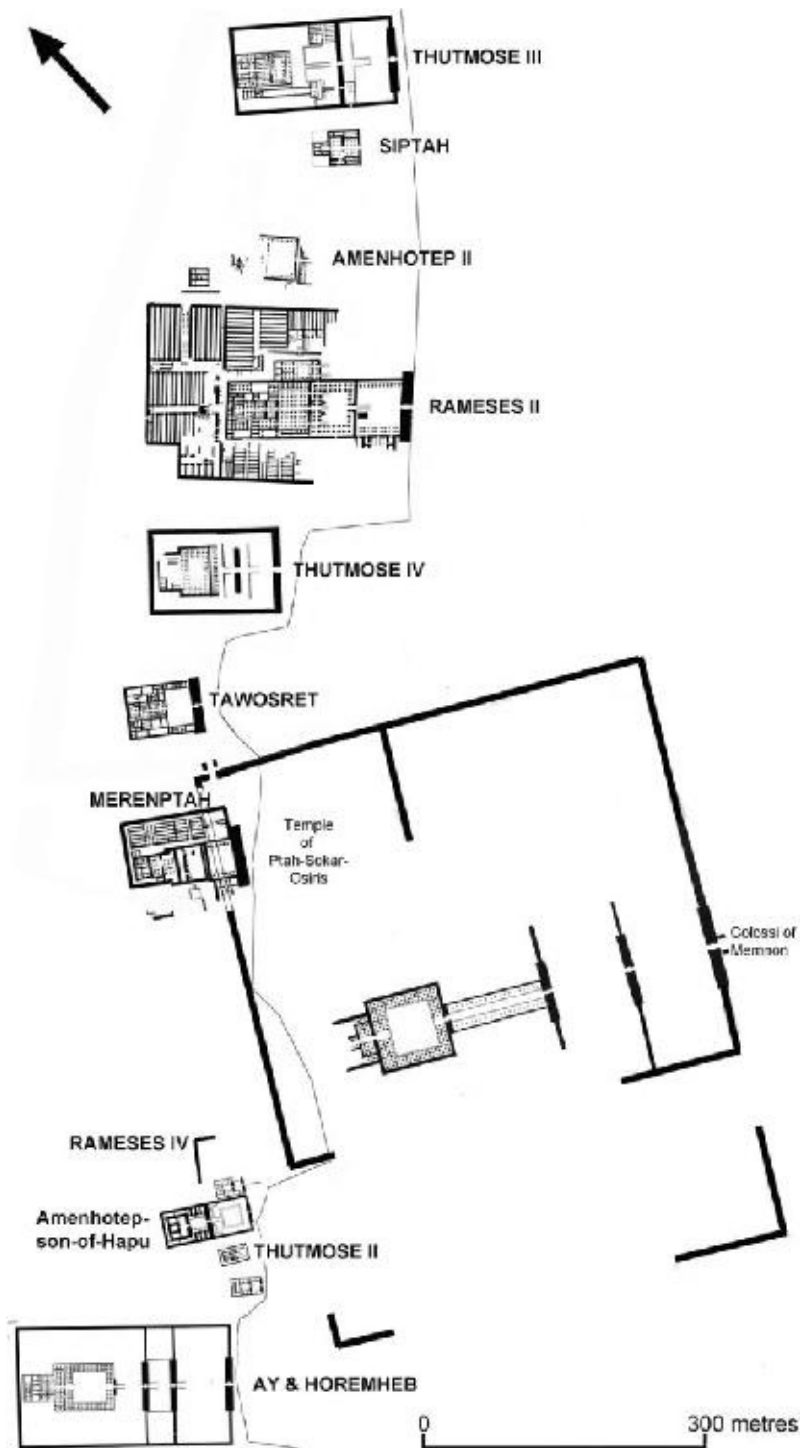


Fig. 54. Plan of the memorial temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan and the surrounding structures, showing the vastly different scale of the Amenhotep temple.



Fig. 55. The colossal statues—dubbed the Colossi of Memnon—that flanked the eastern entrance to the memorial temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan.

Amenhotep III's memorial temple had a unique feature for a West Theban temple: it was built largely on the floodplain, in contrast to the desert locations of other temples (cf. map 5). Thus, it must have been intended to flood annually—as noted above, a feature apparently shared with Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah at Memphis. Its eastern entrance was marked by a pair of quartzite colossi—now known as the Colossi of Memnon (fig. 55)—quarried at Gebel el-Ahmar to the east of Cairo by the sculptor Men, whose son, Bak, would serve Akhenaten (cf. fig. 78). Many other smaller colossi of the same and other materials adorned the inner parts of the temple.

In addition, it appears to have been intended not only as a mortuary foundation but also to fulfill a role during the king's lifetime as well. As such, following its final extension and rebuilding in advance of his First Jubilee,¹⁵⁴ it contained an unprecedented collection of three-dimensional sculpture, including divine images that are in some cases without direct parallel elsewhere. Given the free-flooding nature of the temple's courtyards, it may have been intended that

these deities were to have been conceived during the inundation as being in the process of emerging from the primeval ocean of Nun.¹⁵⁵

The temple began to be dismantled in early Rameside times, with many slabs and cut-up pieces of sculpture reused in the memorial temple of Merenptah (fig. 101). Other items of sculpture were appropriated by Rameses II and III for reworking and installation in their own memorial temples, while the recovery of materials and appropriation of sculpture from the site continued down to Ptolemaic times at least.¹⁵⁶ We have already noted the likely transplanting of images of Sekhmet to the Mut temple at Karnak during the Third Intermediate Period.

South of Thebes, at el-Mehamid Qibly, just beyond Armant, additions were made to a temple of Sobek-Re,¹⁵⁷ while a small bark-shrine was decorated at el-Kab early in the second decade of the reign (fig. 56)¹⁵⁸ and a peripteral temple erected to Khnum on Elephantine island (fig. 57).¹⁵⁹ Beyond Aswan, in Nubia, was built a partly rock-cut temple at Wadi el-Sebua (fig. 58)¹⁶⁰ with another peristyle sanctuary at Quban.¹⁶¹ Far more impressive, however, were the two large temples that were erected in the northern part of Upper Nubia, a little to the north of the Third Cataract.



Fig. 56. The interior of the bark shrine of Amenhotep III at El-Kab-Wadi Hellal.



Fig. 57. The now-destroyed peripteral temple erected by Amenhotep III on Elephantine island.



Fig. 58. Rear wall of the temple of Amenhotep III at Wadi el-Sebua (now Cairo).

The greater of the two lay at Soleb, where work was carried out in two main phases, the first of which was almost completely demolished to make way for

the second (figs. 59–60).¹⁶² At first, a chapel was constructed on a raised platform in the southwestern quadrant of a large brick enclosure, with walls punctuated by a series of chapels. According to reliefs in the second-phase temple, this gated structure seems to have formed part of a ‘striking the gates’ (of the chapels) ritual preceding the ceremonies of the *sed*-festival (fig. 61). On this basis, it would seem that this enclosure was built for the king’s First Jubilee, after which it was demolished to make way for a large sandstone temple,¹⁶³ reminiscent in its plan of the Luxor temple, which was constructed during the remaining decade of the king’s life. In doing so, the old walls and gates were swept away, the only original element surviving being the platform, upon which a new bark shrine was built from blocks reused from the original chapel. From this new core, the temple was then constructed eastward.

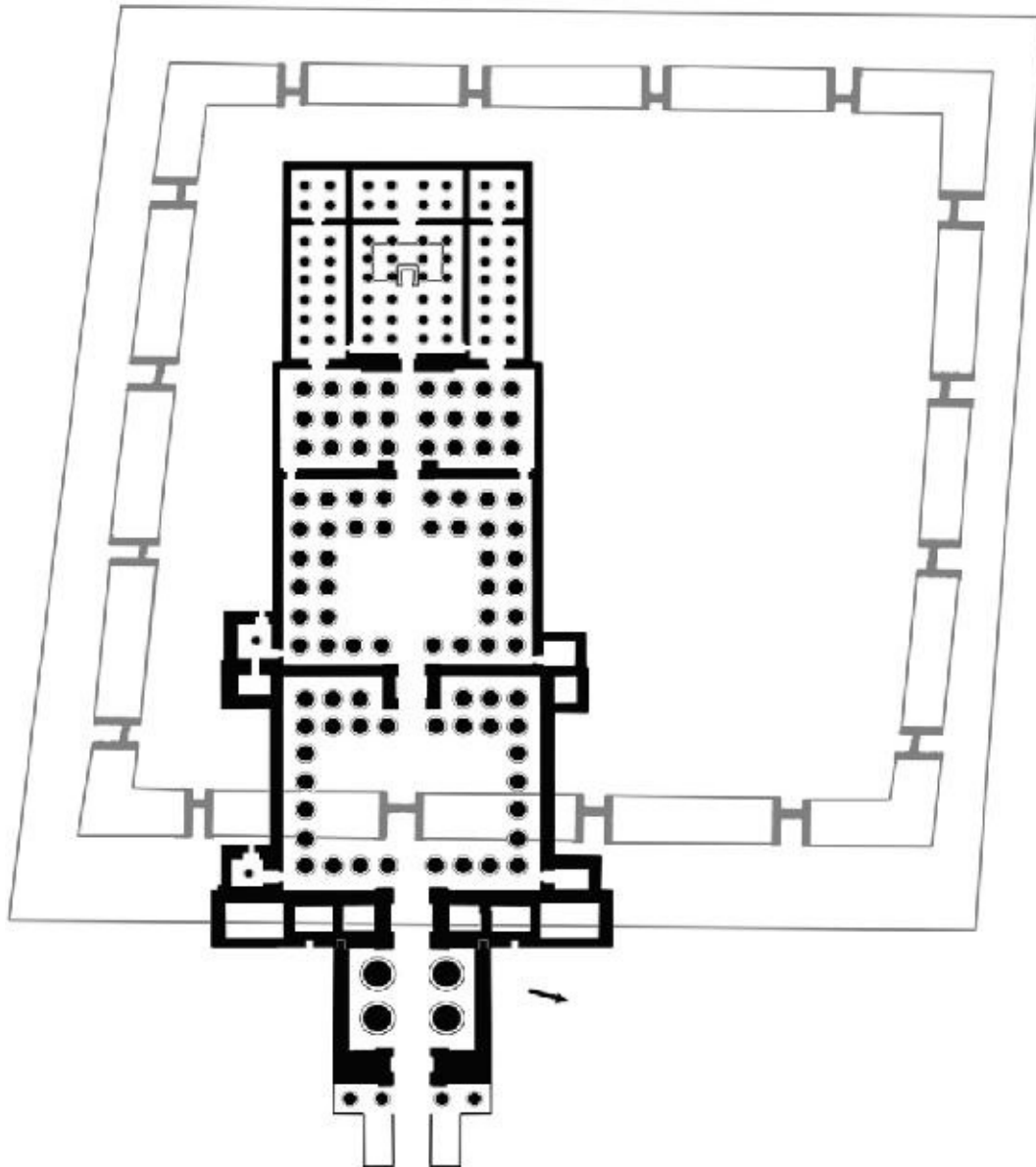


Fig. 59. Plan of the temple at Soleb, showing the original stone-gated brick enclosure and the sandstone temple that replaced it.



Fig. 60. View of the temple at Soleb from the north.

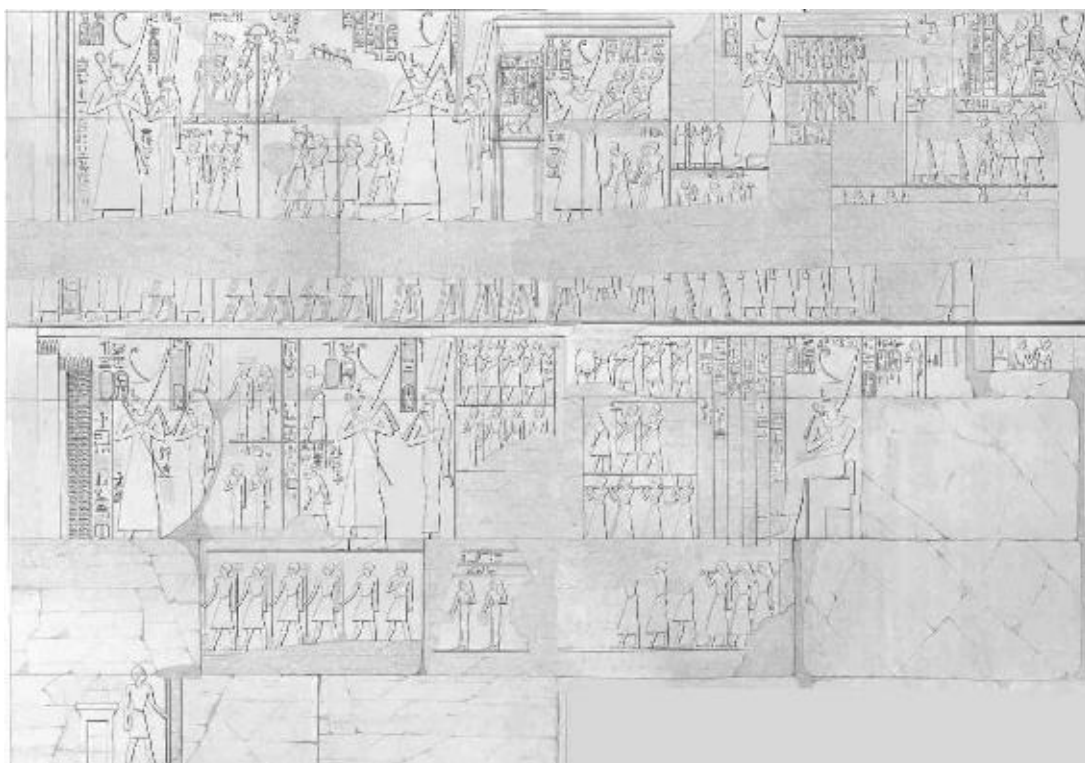


Fig. 61. The “striking of the gates” ritual, as shown at Soleb. Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu stands in front of the king in two cases.

This chronology is certainly supported by the First Jubilee–based nature of much of the surviving decoration (fig. 62), and the fact that the decoration of the

gateway of the pylon was finished under Amenhotep IV (fig. 74), including the appropriation of already-carved names of Amenhotep III (p. 89; fig. 72). On the pylon, Amenhotep III/IV is shown worshiping and being crowned by the two gods of the temple: Nebmaatre-Lord-of-Nubia, the local deified form of Amenhotep III,¹⁶⁴ and Amun-Re-Residing-in-the-Fortress-of-Khaemmaat (the name of the foundation).¹⁶⁵ The two gods seem linked through Nebmaatre being shown with ram's horns (referring to Amun's ovine form), while other attributes include a solar disk and lunar crescent, suggesting a further link with Khonsu, third deity of the Theban triad, or an equation of the king with the lunar eye of Horus.¹⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that Amenhotep IV's nomen-cartouches were recut to read "Akhenaten," yet no attempt seems to have been made to attack the images of Amun, a piece of evidence supporting a relatively late proscription for that god; we will return to this matter later (pp. 127–28).

The temple had an extensive sculpture program that was still in the process of being realized at the king's death—for example, one of a pair of granite lions was not completed and installed until the time of Tut-ankhamun and Ay.¹⁶⁷ However, much of that sculpture was subsequently reused elsewhere, in particular at Gebel Barkal, whence the lions were removed by Amenislo in the early third century bc.¹⁶⁸

The deified king at Soleb has a counterpoint a little to the north at Sedeinga, where a temple was erected dedicated to Tiye, fused with Hathor, Tefnut, and Werethekau (figs. 63–64).¹⁶⁹ Her combination with Tefnut as "Great of Fearsomeness"¹⁷⁰ is indicated by her representation as a sphinx on a monumental entablature in the temple (fig. 65), perhaps also relating her to the myth of the angry eye of Re.¹⁷¹

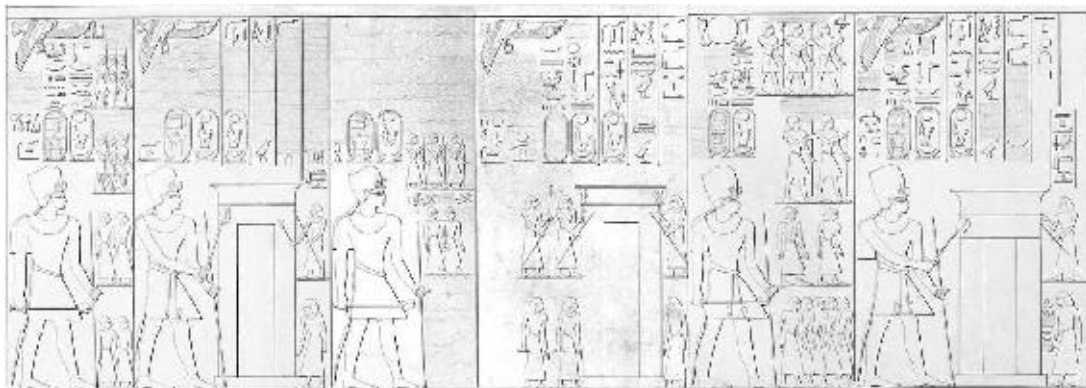


Fig. 62. The Striking the Gates ceremony, Amenhotep III's First Jubilee, as shown in the courtyard of the temple at Soleb.



Fig. 63. The temple of Tiye at Sedeinga.

Blocks naming Amenhotep III were found at the south Nubian temples at Kerma–Dukki Gel,¹⁷² but it is unclear whether they represent original work there or the reuse of blocks from Soleb. Similarly, a number of items of Amenhotep III were found at Gebel Barkal; most seem to have been later transplants from Soleb, but it is not impossible that some might have originated in, for example, temple B600, founded by Thutmose IV (cf. p. 30).

The dating of many of Amenhotep III's monuments is dependent on a number of changes of artistic style that can be observed during his reign. According to one analysis, the art of the reign can be divided into four phases, each broadly corresponding to a decade of the reign, with the fourth initiated following the king's First Jubilee.¹⁷³ The first three are basically evolutionary developments of the style seen under Thutmose IV, moving toward increased naturalism by the third decade, but the 'post-jubilee' style is dramatically different, not only in its conception of the king as a young solar deity (see p. 53), but also in being generally presented in very high raised- or very deep sunk-relief.

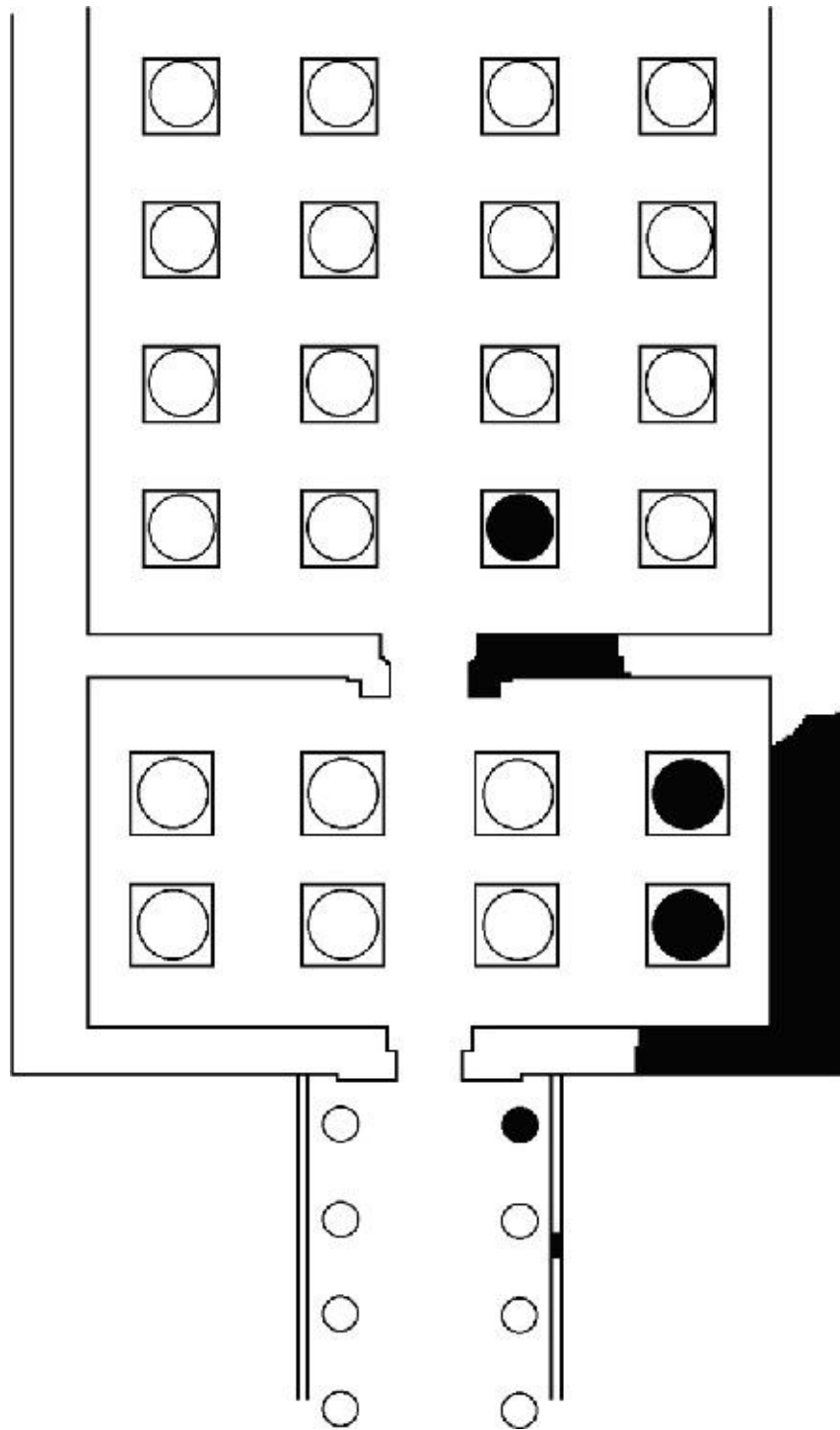


Fig. 64. Plan of the temple of Tiye at Sedeinga.

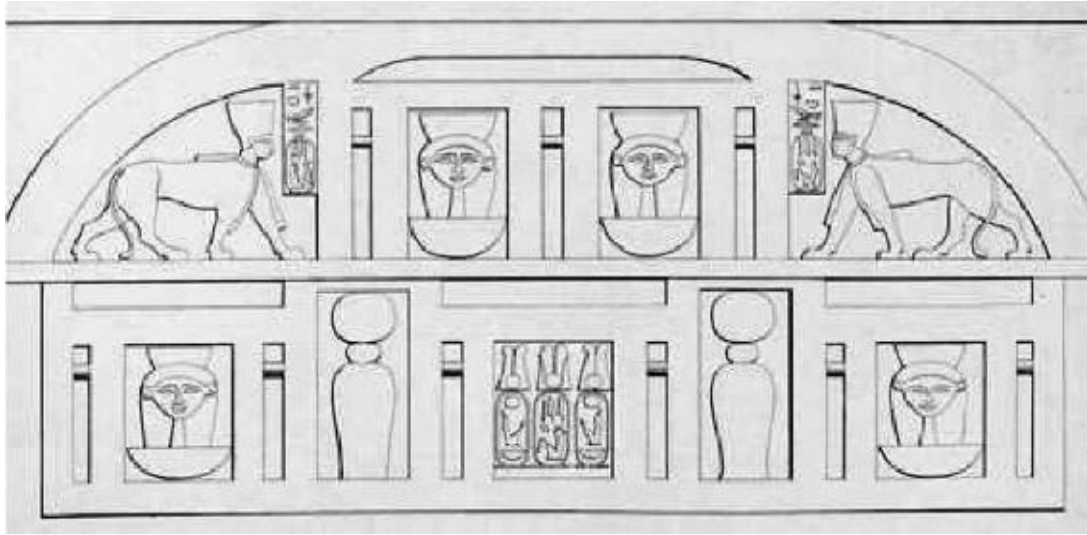


Fig. 65. Entablature at Sedeinga, with Tiye linked with both Hathor and the sphinx-form Tefnut.

As will be noted (see p. 85), the earliest monuments of Amenhotep IV use the pre-jubilee ‘third decade’ style, and this has been used to support a view that Amenhotep IV’s accession took place during his father’s reign, prior to the First Jubilee.¹⁷⁴ The resulting decade or more of co-regency has been advocated by a wide range of Egyptologists since it was first proposed during the late nineteenth century on a variety of grounds;¹⁷⁵ published refutations are also, however, common.¹⁷⁶ Among the other points put forward in favor of a significant period of joint rule (ten to twelve years) have been: the phasing of the decoration in tomb-chapels apparently spanning the reigns of the two kings; the existence of images of Amenhotep III in styles otherwise known to date to the middle and later years of Akhenaten: the post-jubilee status of Amenhotep III as “the Dazzling Aten” (see p. 53), potentially suggesting a coincidence of the jubilees of Amenhotep III (as the Aten) and the Aten itself (for the latter, see pp. 96–100); the presence of letters to Amenhotep III in the cuneiform archive at Amarna; the existence of papyri recording transactions with the same individuals that jump from the twenties and thirties of Amenhotep III’s reign to Years 2 and 3 of Amenhotep IV’s (see p. 102); and a text that could be interpreted as explicitly recording the beginning of a co-regency in Year 30.

Leaving the last of these to one side for a moment, all these criteria can be subjected to deconstructions that make them less than definitive. The use of the third-decade style for Amenhotep IV’s earliest monuments does indeed seem suggestive, but also requires the extreme ‘early Amarna’ or ‘revolutionary’ style (see pp. 91–92) to run in parallel with the very different post-jubilee style of

Amenhotep III, without any hint of leakage between them. The latter is particularly difficult to accept at Thebes, where one would have to see artisans adopting radically different styles, depending on which king or queen they were depicting. More credible, perhaps, is recognizing the way in which the post-jubilee style was linked with the specific status of the now divine Amenhotep III, which would not be appropriate for his successor, who thus reverted to the immediately preceding style.¹⁷⁷

The arguments around the phasing of the decoration of tomb-chapels focus particularly—although not exclusively¹⁷⁸—around the tombs of Ramose (TT55) and Kheruef (TT192). In the former case, the tomb owner is known to have served Amenhotep III in Year 30, yet has images of Amenhotep IV in the styles of both Amenhotep III's third decade and early Amarna (fig. 85). This argument, however, depends on the Year 30 attestations falling around the end of Ramose's career; but the vagaries of preservation make this by no means definitive and it is quite possible that Ramose served through to the end of Amenhotep III's reign and carried on in office during the first half-decade Amenhotep IV's reign. In the case of Kheruef, the main body of the tomb has scenes of the First and Third (fig. 39) Jubilees of Amenhotep III, while Amenhotep IV appears (with Tiye) in its portico (figs. 69–70). However, the latter is a wholly separate part of the tomb, with the reliefs of Amenhotep IV arguably among the last to be carved, yet in the Amenhotep III-third-decade style used in his first years—rather than a decade later, which is what would be required if one wished to argue their contemporaneity with Amenhotep III's Third Jubilee.¹⁷⁹

Depictions of Amenhotep III in the actual Amarna style are rare and come from private contexts (e.g., fig. 67),¹⁸⁰ where they can without difficulty be seen as commemorative (cf. the issues surrounding 'joint' works of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, p. 7, above). This is particularly the case in the tomb of Huya at Amarna, who directly served Amenhotep III's wife, Tiye (fig. 66).

The suggestion that the jubilees of Amenhotep III and the Aten were one and the same is certainly attractive, given the potential identity between the post-jubilee king and the god. However, there is no objective link between the two sets of events, and their depictions are very different. Likewise, the presence of Amenhotep III-era letters at Amarna has no objective significance—any interpretation depends on a subjective assessment as to whether the archive at Amarna was intended as a repository of material received solely during Amarna's period as the center of Egyptian government, or was a more extensive archive also housing earlier material. The papyri likewise require subjective

interpretation.

The nearest thing to an objective piece of evidence is the aforementioned text allegedly recording the inception of a co-regency in Year 30. This is a tourist graffito in the mortuary temple of the pyramid at Meidum¹⁸¹ and speaks of Amenhotep III “causing the male to sit down upon the seat of his father and establishing his inheritance [in] the land.” That this is not simply a general laudatory statement relating to the king’s support for ensuring smooth father–son inheritance generally is indicated by the use of the royal determinative for the word ‘father.’ Accordingly an act by the king himself is indicated,¹⁸² but if the elevation of his son to full kingship is meant, the phraseology seems remarkably oblique. In addition, Year 30 is rather late for most co-regency scenarios, which place the inception of joint rule around Year 27, with its termination equated with the so-called Year 12 *durbar* of Akhenaten (see pp. 140–41).

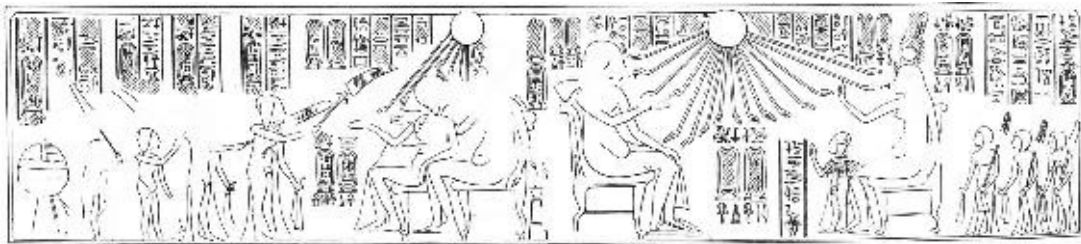


Fig. 66. Lintel of the doorway into the inner part of the tomb-chapel of Huya (TA1), with Akhenaten and his family on the left and Amenhotep III, Tiye, and princess Baketaten on the right. Although often cited as evidence for a co-regency between the two kings, the separation of the figure of Amenhotep from those of Tiye and Baketaten indicates a clear conceptual difference between the two kings’ images, as do the poses of the latter two females. Amenhotep III is referred to by a single ‘Nebmaatre’ cartouche, clearly in order to avoid the use of his Amun-containing nomen: Akhenaten is unusually also referred to by just his prenom, presumably to ensure parallelism between the two sides of the image.

An alternative interpretation may be that the act in question is the formal nomination of an heir by his father as described in the ostensibly autobiographical accounts of the progress of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Rameses II to the throne.¹⁸³ While it is also clear that none of them is a straightforward account of events, their use of the motif of presentation of the king-to-be to an assembly of the “people” strongly suggests that such a ceremony existed and was normal practice.

On this basis, one might suggest that the event recorded in the Meidum graffito is the nomination of Amenhotep E as heir, which clearly would be “establishing his inheritance [in] the land,” without any problematic issues of ‘co-regency.’ That Year 30 was a jubilee year might indeed have made the year

an appropriate one for such a ceremony, although, as already noted (see p. 44), it is likely that the original heir, Thutmose B, had in any case died around this time.

Thus, the view that Amenhotep III and IV followed each other in direct succession, without any overlap, seems the most probable reconstruction of events. However, the intimate relationship between the theology of the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign and what followed cannot be denied.

The external world within which Egypt operated during the late fourteenth century is most interestingly set out on a series of five statue bases (AN through EN) in the northwest corner of the 'sun court' of Amenhotep III's memorial temple.¹⁸⁴ Each is inscribed with a list of foreign polities, apparently arranged geographically. AN thus has major northern entities such as Babylon, Mitanni, Carchemish, Aleppo, Hatti, Arzawa, and Assyria; BN (and probably the badly damaged CN) covers Syria–Palestinian locales, including Damascus, with DN moving east and including the Arameans and both Babylon and Assyria again. EN lists places in the Aegean, some of whose identification is generally accepted—for example, Mycenae and a number of Cretan locations—others less so (for example, a potential "Ilios" = Troy).¹⁸⁵

A relationship with Mycenae in Greece is proved by, in addition to a vase of Amenhotep III in a Late Helladic (LH) IIIA tomb and scarabs,¹⁸⁶ fragments of up to a dozen faience plaques bearing the names of Amenhotep III, found in Aegean LHIIIB contexts that may suggest an origin in LHIIIA.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, chemical analysis suggests that at least some of these plaques were local products, rather than imports from Egypt, something supported by the lack of exact parallels from Egypt itself.¹⁸⁸ This suggests a more complex relationship between Egypt and Mycenae than simple trade or gift-giving.¹⁸⁹ Interestingly, Mycenaean pottery is rare in Egypt at sites associated with Amenhotep III, although some LHIIIA2–B1 wares found at Deir el-Medina indicate that material was reaching Thebes around this time, while Mycenaean potsherds were not uncommon at Amarna (cf. p. 135).¹⁹⁰

Relations with Alashiya (centered on southern Cyprus)¹⁹¹ are attested under Amenhotep III (and his successor Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten) and illuminated by a corpus of cuneiform tablets first found at Tell el-Amarna during the late nineteenth century.¹⁹² These 'Amarna Letters' (already mentioned above) comprise communications in the Akkadian language¹⁹³ to the Egyptian king from various contemporary rulers, together with some drafts in return. The ruler

of Alashiya fell under the heading of a “Great King” with whom the pharaoh dealt on equal terms as a “brother,”¹⁹⁴ although unlike most of his fellow “brethren,” he fails to address the pharaoh by name (or give his own), making it difficult to positively attribute the Alashiya letters¹⁹⁵ between the two kings.¹⁹⁶ Most (apart from one congratulating a pharaoh on his accession) are to do with the diplomatic gifts, consular business (repatriating the belongings and family of a dead expatriate in Alashiya), and exchange of raw materials—Alashiya supplying copper, and requesting silver in return (not gold, which many other rulers demanded—see pp. 79–80).

The rest of the Amarna dossier is derived from Egypt’s relationships with Syria–Palestine and Mesopotamia. Although some of the correspondents name themselves and their addressee, and/or can be positively assigned to a particular reign through the addition of a hieratic docket by an Egyptian filing clerk, many name neither, making dating often problematic. Even when the pharaonic reign can be identified, only a handful of letters can be dated within a tenure with any certainty; thus, any assessment of the ebb and flow of events is frequently conjectural, with very different reconstructions of events potentially reached by different researchers.

It is the Great Kings’ correspondence that can generally be attributed to a particular Egyptian king. The earliest explicitly dated letter (via a hieratic docket) belongs to Year 36 of Amenhotep III, with six letters that on internal grounds can be placed in the preceding half-decade or so.¹⁹⁷ This group, thus probably commencing around Year 30, is from Tushratta of Mitanni, and concern negotiations for the marriage of his daughter Tadukhepa with Amenhotep III, to join her aunt Gilukhepa, Tushratta’s sister, in the harem.¹⁹⁸ The Mitannian king had come to the throne as a child some sixteen years earlier, following the assassinations of his father Shuttarna II and his brother Atashumara. He had then apparently been the puppet of the murderers for some time until he had been able to turn the tables and kill them and their followers.

Accordingly, the first letter is concerned with re-establishing relations with Egypt that had been suspended since the murders of Shuttarna and Atashumara and bringing the Egyptian king up to date on Mitannian affairs. Tushratta emphasizes the former close relationship between Shuttarna and Amenhotep III, cemented as it had been by the pharaoh’s marriage with Tushratta’s sister Gilukhepa, and requests that full diplomatic relations be re-established. The request is accompanied by gifts—chariots and horses, booty from a war with the Hittites, plus jewelry and perfume for his sister.

From the next surviving letter from Tushratta, it is clear that the Egyptian king had requested that the new alliance be sealed by marriage with one of Tushratta's daughters, in exchange for sending large quantities of gold to Mitanni, some of which would be the bride-price, plus a gift to build a tomb for the slain Shuttarna II. Amenhotep had already sent golden objects, but what Tushratta was after was simple bullion.

What was sent was deemed by the Mitannians to be substandard, but a daughter was promised in six months' time on the implicit condition that something better be sent in the interim. Clearly this must have happened, as one of the last letters from Tushratta to Amenhotep III—dated to Year 36 by the hieratic docket—includes Tushratta's daughter, Tadukhepa, in the greetings at its beginning. This letter concerns the dispatch of a statue of the goddess Ishtar to Egypt; it speaks simply of the goddess's desire to visit Egypt, but it has frequently been suggested that the goddess was being sent to heal the ailing Egyptian king, although there is no solid basis for such a view.¹⁹⁹ In any case, however, the next substantive correspondence between Mitanni and Egypt would fall after Amenhotep III's death (see pp. 102–104).

Gold and diplomatic brides are also a staple of Amenhotep III's correspondence with the kings of Babylon.²⁰⁰ It was now axiomatic that Egypt was a country replete with gold—soon after Amenhotep's death, a letter notes that gold is “as dust” in Egypt.²⁰¹ From the draft of a letter written by the pharaoh to his Babylonian counterpart Kadashman-Enlil I, it appears that Amenhotep had requested a Babylonian princess, only to be rebuffed by the Babylonian king. The latter complained in response that he had had no news of his sister, a previous diplomatic bride, and had no idea whether she was alive or dead, and also that his messengers had not been treated with due respect. Clearly annoyed, Amenhotep puts the blame on falsehoods told to Kadashman-Enlil by his messengers, pointing out the inconsistencies in their story.



Fig. 67. Stela from house R.44.2 (Panehsy) at Amarna showing Amenhotep III and Tiye, in association with the Late form of the Aten's cartouches and thus dateable after Year 9 of Akhenaten (BM EA57399).

The Babylonian ultimately agreed in principle to a daughter being sent, but continued to grumble²⁰² at the length of time an embassy had been detained in Egypt (six years, rather than the quick turnaround previously experienced under Kadashman-Enlil's father) and the quality of the gold received from Egypt. In a further letter (probably, but not certainly, between Kadashman-Enlil and Amenhotep III), the foreign king complains that while the pharaoh is demanding a daughter from him, the Egyptian king haughtily notes that "from time immemorial, no daughter of a king of Egypt is given to anyone,"²⁰³ and questions whether he will send a daughter from Babylon after all. Kadashman-

Enlil also notes that if a previously agreed-upon gift of gold from Egypt is not sent soon, it will be too late to fund an intended piece of work and will be returned and the marriage alliance canceled altogether.

In any case, a gift of furniture for a new palace (perhaps at Malqata?) shows that Kadashman-Enlil's relationship with Amenhotep III was on occasion less prickly. After his death, the Babylonian king's successor, Burnaburiash II, and Amenhotep exchanged gifts, but it is likely that this was not long before the pharaoh's own demise, relations being then carried forward under his own successor (see pp. 102–103).

Yet another marriage alliance was negotiated with Tarkhundardu, ruler of the southeast Anatolian kingdom of Arzawa.²⁰⁴ This may have been intended as a way of acquiring an ally against the rising power of the Hittites, whose new king Shuppiluliuma I may have seized the throne during the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign—although it has also been argued that Shuppiluliuma's accession as king came somewhat later, around the middle of Akhenaten's reign.²⁰⁵ Accordingly, linking events known from Hittite sources into those parts of the Amarna dossier relating to north Syria is problematic,²⁰⁶ exacerbated by the fact that these are all but devoid of the names of the Egyptian kings involved. Thus, the only Hittite military activity that can be attributed with confidence to the time of Amenhotep III and around the time of the Arzawan marriage negotiations is indicated by the booty sent by Tushratta.²⁰⁷ Beyond the matter of their links into broader events, even the basic sequence and dating of events alluded to in the letters from the northern vassals remains problematic to a greater or lesser degree. However, a number of letters from Rib-Addi, ruler of Byblos, and from Abdi-Ashirta of Amurru seem likely to have been written to Amenhotep III,²⁰⁸ and reveal an ongoing conflict between these polities that would ultimately lead to the deposition and possibly death of Rib-Addi during the reign of Akhenaten (see p. 137). Both protagonists claim to be loyal vassals of Egypt, and it remains unclear as to how far it was local agendas that were being pursued, rather than supporting broader Egyptian imperial interests. In particular, Rib-Addi seemingly classifies most of the officials and local rulers in the area as “hostiles” to a greater or lesser extent, suggesting a degree of exaggeration—or even paranoia—in his assessment of affairs.²⁰⁹

Similar dating issues apply to vassal letters from vassals in Palestine, with one of the few letters with an explicit date—provided by a hieratic docket—having a date that could read either “Year 12” (placing it under Akhenaten) or “Year 32” (placing it under Amenhotep III).²¹⁰ This is a significant issue, as the

letter in question²¹¹ is part of a cluster featuring the warlord Labayu. This individual claimed to be a loyal servant of the Egyptian king,²¹² but numerous local rulers complained of the activities of him and his sons,²¹³ including their links with a group of brigands of obscure background known as the Apiru. Accordingly, Labayu was at length captured, but then released following a bribe to his captor,²¹⁴ although he was then killed by the citizens of the city of Gina (possibly modern Jenin).²¹⁵ Nevertheless, his sons remained a source of trouble, the local Egyptian agent directing Biryawaza, the ruler of Damascus, to take action against them.

The last known date for Amenhotep III is the Birthday of Osiris in Year 38.²¹⁶ Since Amenhotep IV came to the throne during the first week of I *pṛt* (see p. 39), Amenhotep III may have died before the end of that regnal year, although it is not impossible that he could have lived into Year 39 or even beyond.²¹⁷

As already noted (see p. 85), he was buried in a tomb (WV22)²¹⁸ originally founded back in the reign of Thutmose IV, in the Western Valley of the Kings, although its decoration was not completed until the last decade of Amenhotep III's own reign, given the style to be seen in the outermost decorated chambers.²¹⁹ In its basic plan (fig. 17), WV22 follows that of its immediate precursors, with the principal exception that, uniquely for a kingly tomb, the entrance to the burial hall is not on the main axis, but at one end of a sidewall. In addition, it has two pillared chambers opening off the crypt, each with its own annex. That at the end of the chamber seems to have been part of the original plan of the tomb, and seems likely to have been intended for the burial of queen Tiye, although, as we shall see, she was ultimately buried, primarily at least, at Amarna (see p. 143). The second complex, on the other hand, preserves traces that show that it was enlarged out of what had been one of the standard four storerooms found in earlier kingly tombs. As a late addition to the tomb plan, it would seem reasonable to attribute it to Sitamun—although whether she was ever buried there remains moot.

The king's own burial chamber is the last such room to carry a 'handwritten' version of the Amduat on its walls, with the first appearance of polychrome pillars. The Amduat's style differs somewhat from that found in earlier tombs, in that the upper parts of the figures are properly drawn, and only the legs are left as 'sticks' (fig. 68). The antechamber and well-room follow Thutmose IV's lead in being decorated with fully colored paintings, although the upper pillared hall remains undecorated.

The extant lid of the king's sarcophagus is made of granite, contrasting with the quartzite used for royal outer casings since the beginning of the dynasty. The coffer is lost, probably having been removed for reuse during the Third Intermediate Period, when many tombs were stripped of salvageable material. Pieces of the accompanying calcite canopic chest have also survived, together with the broken remnants of one or more of Amenhotep III's coffins. These were of *rishi* design but, unlike earlier examples, they were heavily inlaid with colored glass, as well as being gilded. In this they anticipate the rich use of inlay on the statuary and coffins of the succeeding Amarna Period. Various other pieces of funerary equipment have found their ways into modern collections and include a significant number of *shabti* figures, the hub of a chariot wheel, and some fragmentary statues in wood, together with pieces of inlay and stone vessels. *Shabti* fragments belonging to Tiye may suggest that she could have been reburied in WV22 after the dismantling of the Amarna necropolis toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²²⁰

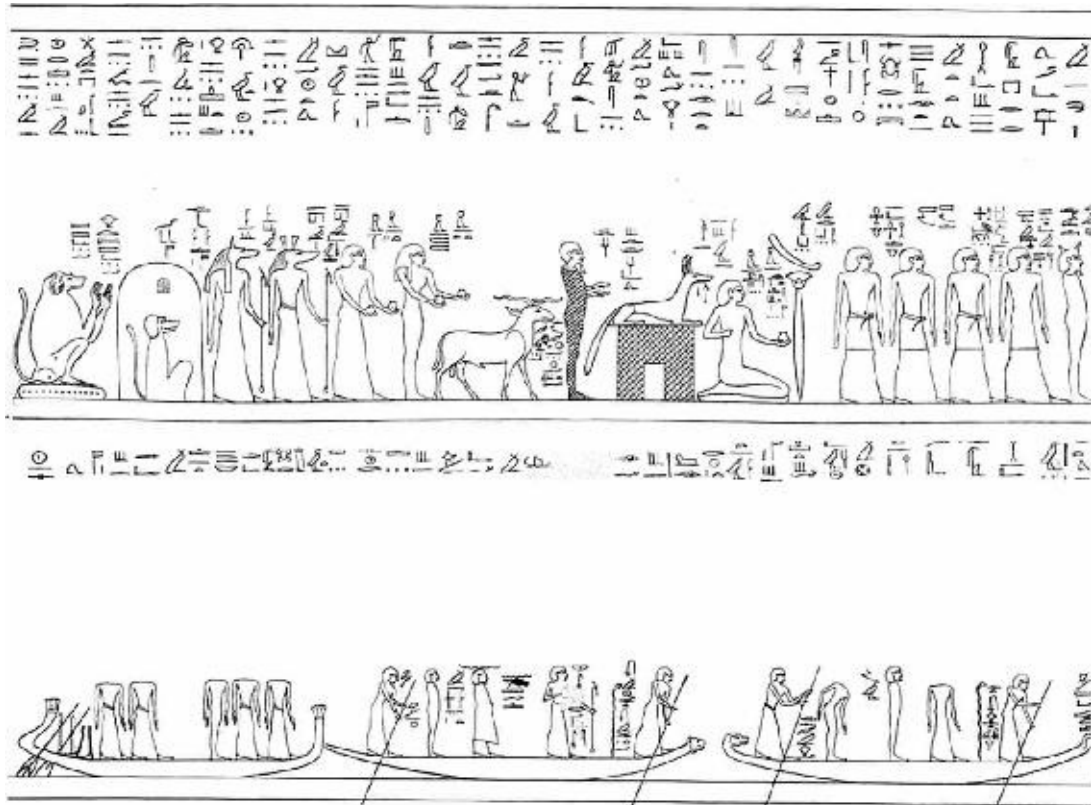


Fig. 68. Part of the decoration of the burial chamber of Amenhotep III (WV22), showing the upper two registers of the Third Hour of the Book of Amduat. In mid-Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs, the Amduat was applied with pen and ink on a buff ground, apparently in imitation of a giant papyrus unrolled around the walls of the chamber. Amenhotep III's version is the latest of the series and shows rather more refined

figures than those in the earlier examples in the tombs of Hatshepsut (KV20), Thutmose III (KV34), and Amenhotep II (KV35).

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, a mummy labeled “Nebmaatre” by restorers around Year 12(?) of Nesibanebdjedet I/Herihor of the Twenty-first Dynasty was found in KV35, along with other royal mummies. It lay in the trough of the inner coffin of Rameses III,²²¹ with the lid of a coffin reinscribed for Sethy II,²²² to which the name Nebmaatre had been added in hieratic. Nevertheless, as noted previously, doubts have been expressed as to the identity of the body, since its embalming technique, with packing under the skin, has no known parallels prior to the Twenty-first Dynasty. However, while analogous in technique, the Amenhotep III mummy uses materials not employed in the later dynasty, and has been proposed as having been prepared with wet natron on the basis of salt crystals in the flesh that are only found in mummies of the late Eighteenth Dynasty.²²³ It may also be noted that the genetic make-up of the body appears to be consistent with the body being that of Amenhotep III (cf. appendix 4). Accordingly, there seems no substantive reason to doubt that this is indeed the body of the king. On this basis, at death Amenhotep III will have been grossly obese, with severe dental problems, in marked contrast to the caricature of youth displayed in the artistic style of his final years.

3

THE ROAD TO
TELL EL-AMARNA

Amenhotep IV's accession fell somewhere between I *prt* 1 and I *prt* 8, to judge from the point at which the regnal year number changes within a set of texts from Years 5 and 6.¹ Perhaps his earliest records are depictions of the king in the portico of the tomb of Kheruef, where he makes offerings to Re-Horakhty and to his recently deceased father (figs. 69–70), the latter probably an explicit coda to the Third Jubilee depictions (see pp. 54–55) that may well have still been being worked on when Amenhotep III died.

Even in these very earliest depictions, Amenhotep IV shows signs of novelty. While his depictions eschew the baroque excesses of Amenhotep III's last decade in favor of a reversion to the 'classic' style of the pre-jubilee era, to the king's nomen is appended the new epithet *ʕ3-m-ʕhʕw.f*, 'great in his duration.' This is found initially within the nomen-cartouche itself, before being placed after it as an invariable adjunct, where it continued to form part of the king's titulary for the rest of his life. Although his actual nomen was clearly modeled on his father's—Amenhotep IV was "Amenhotep-netjer-heqa-Waset" to his father's simple "-heqa-Waset"—his prenomen, Neferkheperure-Waenre, added for the first time a permanent epithet, "Waenre," within the cartouche alongside the main Neferkheperure element. While epithets had occurred within prenomina since the time of Thutmose I,² they were not an integral part of the name, and were used only on occasion—most extant prenomina are 'plain'—and when used could be varied depending on time and place.

Amenhotep IV is accompanied in the tomb of Kheruef by his mother Tiye, while in the tomb-chapel of Ramose the king is shown with the goddess Maat as his companion (fig. 85 [left]). Given that Amenhotep III was previously consistently shown with his wife, while the same is true of his son on almost all his later monuments, it would thus seem that Amenhotep IV was single at his succession, with his mother carrying out the official duties of the Great Wife until he married—probably not long afterward.



Fig. 69. Right-hand portion of the lintel of the portico of the tomb-chapel of Kheruef (TT192), showing Amenhotep IV and Tiye offering to Re-Atum.

However, Tiye's position vis-à-vis Amenhotep IV can be overstated. It has been argued that she initially ruled for him, or was otherwise in a position of exceptional authority.³ This view largely depends on the fact that a letter⁴ was written directly to her by Tushratta of Mitanni,⁵ but a careful reading of this communication shows that another option is more likely.⁶ The letter is about gold statues promised by Amenhotep III to the Mitannians: when they arrived they turned out to be gilded wood, and Tiye is being asked to "remind" her son as to what had been agreed to by her late husband! Nevertheless, Tiye remained

an active figure beyond her son's marriage, including dedicating monuments at Gurob to the memory of Amenhotep III⁷ and perhaps commissioning building work, to judge from the presence of her cartouche in limestone quarry H at Amarna.⁸

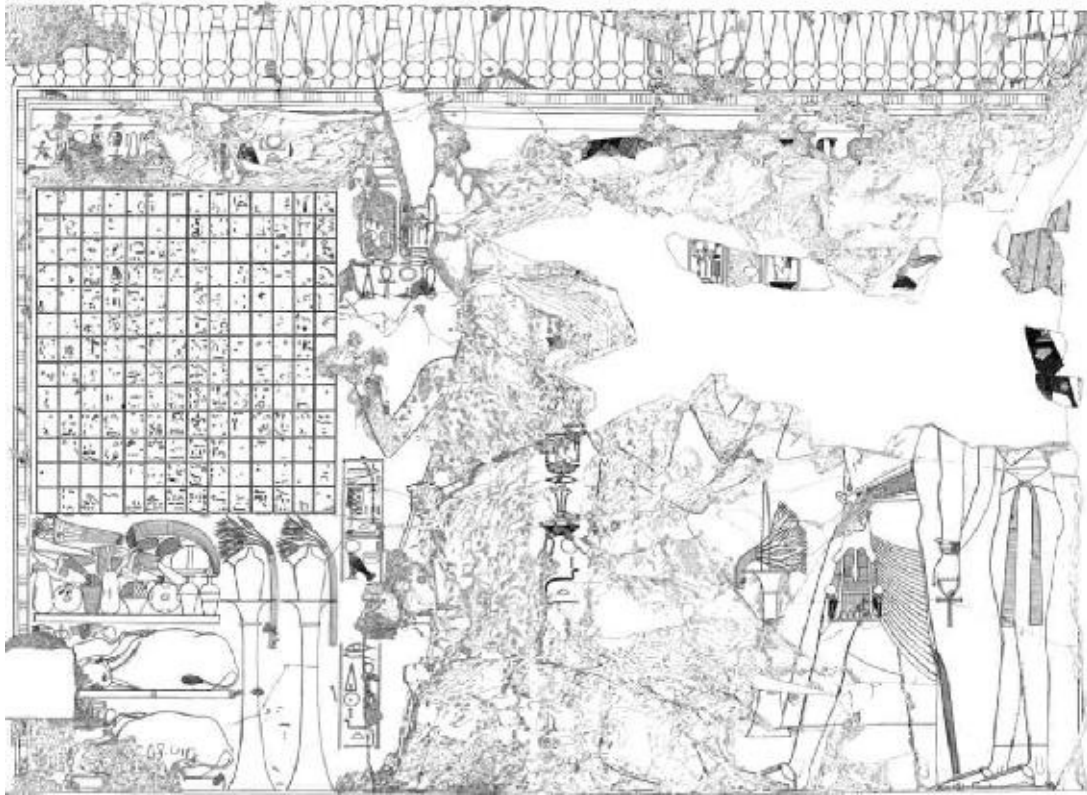


Fig. 70. Right wall of the portico of TT192. The right half shows a largely destroyed figure of Amenhotep IV offering to Amenhotep III, accompanied by Tiye, and the left another figure of Amenhotep IV reciting a hymn to Re-Horakhty in the form of a word square.

However, it seems clear that within the first year or so of his reign, Amenhotep IV acquired a spouse in the form of a certain Nefertiti.⁹ Her origins have been incessantly debated since the early years of Egyptology, some trying to read into her name ('The Beautiful Woman Is Come') a foreign origin, with Tadukhepa, the Mitannian princess who had arrived in Egypt as a diplomatic bride around the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, long a favorite. Others have proposed her as sister of her husband, in spite of her lack of the necessary title of King's Daughter or King's Sister.

Perhaps the most popular view is that—just as Yuya's title of God's Father may have been based on his being the father-in-law of Amenhotep III—a prominent possessor of the title during the new reign, another Master of Horse

named Ay (who would later become pharaoh), might have been Nefertiti's father. However, unlike Tjuiu, who was explicitly Mother of the King's Great Wife, Ay's known wife Tey is only Nurse-Who-Reared-the-Divine-Lady and Nurse of the King's Great Wife Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti. Clearly she cannot thus have been Nefertiti's mother, but this certainly does not rule out Ay from having been her father: given high maternal mortality rates in ancient Egypt, it is quite possible that this title could be interpreted as marking out Tey as Nefertiti's stepmother. Indeed, there is some evidence supporting the existence of another (previous) wife of Ay named Iuy, the mother of his son Nakhtmin and perhaps also of Nefertiti.¹⁰

As for Ay's origins, it has often been noted that he seems to have shared not only Yuya's principal military title and a very similar name, but also Akhmimic links, undertaking building work there as king and probably having the aforementioned son whose name incorporated that of Min. The idea that Ay was a son of Yuya, perhaps directly succeeding him as head of the chariotry arm, has accordingly proved popular. In view of the Egyptian ideal of a son following his father's career, this would also be attractive—particularly as Yuya's definitely known son, Anen, had become a priest (p. 47). On this basis, Nefertiti would have been Amenhotep IV's maternal first cousin.¹¹ One definite relation of Nefertiti was the Sister of the King's Great Wife, Mutnedjmet,¹² who appears in a number of contemporary tomb-chapels (fig. 71);¹³ it is possible that she went on to become the queen of Horemheb, the final king of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁴

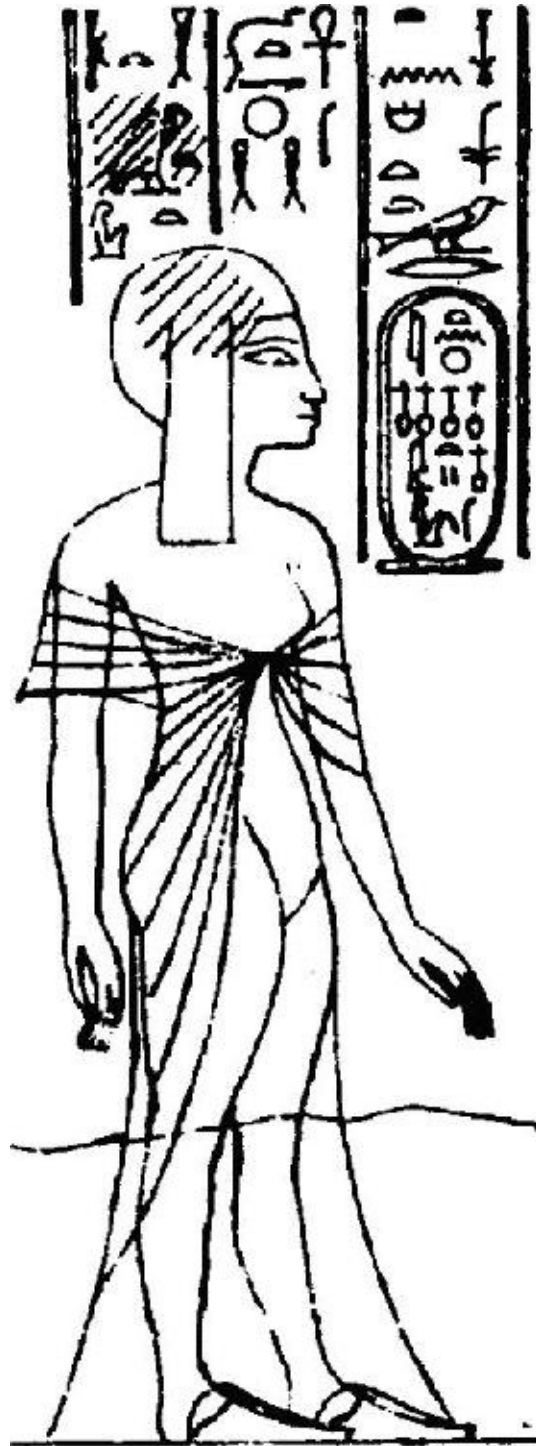


Fig. 71. Nefertiti's sister Mutnedjmet, as shown in the tomb of Parennefer (TA7).

A number of sets of human remains attributed (with varying degrees of certainty) to members of the late Eighteenth Dynasty royal family have been subject to DNA analysis. As discussed in appendix 4, the published conclusions are the subject of significant controversy. However, assuming the raw data to be

reliable, the mother of Tutankhamun has been identified as a mummy found in KV35,¹⁵ who was genetically either the sister¹⁶ or paternal *and* maternal first cousin of Tutankhamun's father (see p. 167), all but certainly to be identified as Akhenaten (see p. 130).

On historical grounds, it seems that the best candidate for the mother of Tutankhamun is Nefertiti (see p. 130)—for whom there is no evidence of being a sister of Akhenaten. However, if the KV35 mummy is indeed hers, its genetics appear to be compatible with her being the daughter of a child of Yuya and Tjuiu and a full sister of Amenhotep III. This would of course be consistent with Nefertiti's father being Ay; whether his princess bride was Iuy or another must remain moot for the time being.

A number of monuments vie for hosting the earliest temple depictions of the new king. At Soleb he appears on the porch of Pylon I, as noted in the previous chapter, having in some cases taken over pre-existing images of Amenhotep III, in others carved new reliefs (fig. 72),¹⁷ indicating a direct continuation of work ongoing at the elder king's death.¹⁸

In Egypt proper, Amenhotep IV's very first monumental activity seems to have been the completion of work on the porch to his father's Pylon III at Karnak, including a large smiting scene of conventional type on its northern outer wall (fig. 73).¹⁹ Around the same time, the gateway of the barely begun Pylon X was pushed ahead, being completed with a series of reliefs showing Amenhotep IV offering to "Re-Horakhty-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon-in-his-Name-Shu-who-is-in-the-Aten"—the first unequivocal appearance of the deity who was to dominate the remainder of the king's life (although the initial "Living," found in the later cartouche-enclosed version, seems to be absent in these reliefs).²⁰ A pair of obelisks seems to have been erected in front of this gateway,²¹ while the remnants of various fragments of statuary clearly from this period survive as dispersed fragments around Karnak.²²

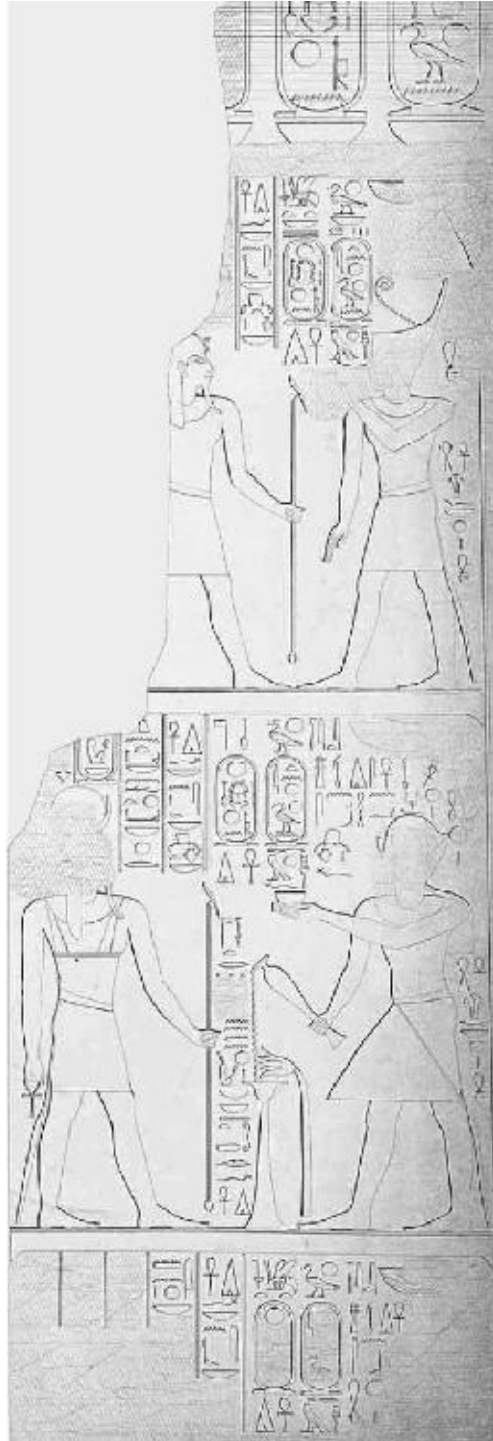


Fig. 72. Scenes of Amen-hotep IV (with nomen later altered to read “Akhenaten”) offering to Nebmaatre-Lord-of-Nubia on the right doorjamb of the pylon of the temple at Soleb.

The depictions of the king here almost all (see p. 94) follow his father’s third-decade ‘classical’ style very closely (cf. the co-regency debate, pp. 74–76). The god is shown as a raptor-headed man indistinguishable from a ‘normal’ Re-

Horakhty (fig. 74), with the aforementioned didactic name carved as a simple label text, arranged to fit around the figures in the scenes. However, when soon afterward the didactic name began to be grouped into a pair of cartouches, with the Re-Horakhty element prefixed with “Living” (e.g., fig. 75),²³ some of the scenes on the Pylon X gateway were amended accordingly,²⁴ although others (perhaps less accessible) were left unchanged.²⁵ The adoption of cartouches—not hitherto used for deities—marked a significant transformation of the deity into what has been dubbed a heavenly “over-king.”²⁶ This status was reinforced by the aforementioned “Living” prefix and the use of epithets specific to a pharaoh, with an apparent blurring of the regnal years of the king and the era of the god. Next, depictions of the Aten as a raptor-headed man were superseded by a radical new means of portraying the god: a solar disk, wearing a uraeus, from which descended stylized rays, each terminating in a hand that held signs of life to the nostrils of the king and queen.



Fig. 73. The smiting scene added to the north face of the still-incomplete porch of Pylon III at Karnak by Amenhotep IV. Karnak Open Air Museum.



Fig. 74. Block showing the Aten as a raptor-headed man with his didactic name written without cartouches, together with the king. From Karnak, gateway of Pylon X, reused in the completion of the pylon (Berlin ÄM2072).



Fig. 75. Graffito at Aswan showing the anthropomorphic Aten receiving four braziers from Amenhotep IV; the king's figure has been erased (from the area now marked with the Arabic number 4), although the

accompanying four columns of text survive.

Broadly in parallel with the transformation of the representation of the god was a change in the way in which the king and his family were depicted, shifting from the classical style seen thus far to one that rapidly progressed into a truly revolutionary one. Under it, the human body was distorted to emphasize the hip, thigh, abdomen, and breast regions, coupled with swan necks, fleshy lips, pendulous jaws, and—where no crown is worn—the rear of the skull extended backward (fig. 76). There is also an emphasis on the limbs, with left and right feet explicitly distinguished in two-dimensional art for the first time.

The meaning of this new style (generally dubbed the “Amarna” style after the new capital founded a handful of years later) has been much debated.²⁷ That it was an innovation directed by the king himself is made explicit by his chief sculptor Bak calling himself “a disciple whom his majesty himself instructed” on a graffito at Aswan that jointly commemorated himself and his father Men, who filled the post under Amenhotep III (fig. 77).²⁸

The swelling breasts and wide hips attributed to the king have been both put forward as a representation—exaggerated or otherwise—of Amenhotep IV’s own pathology²⁹ and as a theological manifestation of an intersexual being, initially applicable to the king, but then extended to the wider population in imitation of the royal ideal. Another option—not necessarily excluding either of the above possibilities—is that the style is intended to emphasize the ‘otherness’ of the king, who soon gains an exceptional status as sole intermediary between the spheres of the earthly and divine. There is the possible further facet that the style was truly ‘revolutionary’ in that it was intended to state clearly that a decisive break with the past was intended, something that is found in the wake of more recent political, social, and ideological upheavals to underline the shift from the ‘old’ to the ‘new.’ It is also worth noting that the ‘extremism’ of the earliest pieces in Amenhotep IV’s new style is moderated in works produced later in the reign (for example, the material from the workshop of Thutmose at Amarna), suggesting that the need for ‘in your face’ tactics was later regarded as past.³⁰



Fig. 76. Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and their three eldest daughters in the full revolutionary style. From Amarna (Berlin ÄM14145).

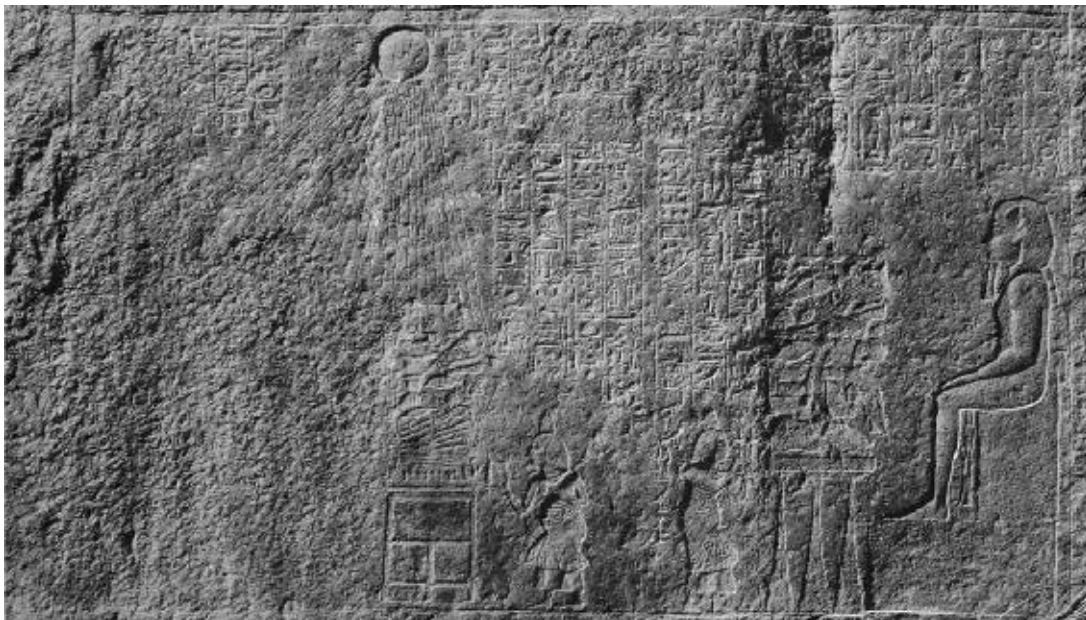


Fig. 77. Tableau at Aswan commemorating the father-son pair of chief sculptors, Men and Bak. Men is shown on the right offering to the statue of Amenhotep “Ruler-of-Rulers” (one of the Colossi of Memnon—fig. 55), with Bak on the left adoring a (now erased) Akhenaten. Amenhotep III’s cartouches both read “Nebmaatre,” thus dating the whole tableau to the latter part of Akhenaten’s reign.

Before the style attains its fully fledged form, there is a period of evolution in which the changes apparently apply progressively only to the king before being adopted by the whole royal family.³¹ Thus, a block from the Pylon X group at Karnak (fig. 78),³² and thus probably from the southern gateway noted above, bears one of the earliest known representations of the Aten-disk,³³ worshiped by a pair of figures of the king, whose figures betray subtly distended bellies and breasts, plus a hint of swan necks. Another facet of the transition is seen on another block where the king’s bodily modifications are more apparent, yet the god is still in his anthropomorphic form—with his body tending toward the king’s proportions.³⁴ This representation is also interesting in that in this case the god also presents jubilee signs to the king, which may link the transformation of the god (and the representation of the king) to the jubilee that was celebrated early in the reign (see pp. 99–100).

While the abstract disk for the Aten is soon used and, as a matter of course, linked with the full revolutionary style for the king, there are images of Nefertiti—seemingly the earliest known of her—in which she is shown in far less radical fashion than her husband (see figs. 79–80). This phase was, however, short-lived, and for the rest of their lives both king and queen are depicted in the same evolving style (cf. pp. 138–39).



Fig. 78. Relief showing perhaps the earliest known representation of the Aten-disk, together with figures of the king displaying the first moves towards the Amarna style. His nomina were later recarved from Amenhotep to Akhenaten. From Karnak Pylon X (Louvre E.13482*ter*).



Fig. 79. Early representations of Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti from blocks comprising a single scene showing them both kissing the ground. Most interestingly, while the image of the king shows him with features in the full revolutionary style, that of the queen is in a near-classical one. Karnak.

Such images are first found used extensively in a vast new temple complex that was erected at Karnak East. This was entirely demolished from the reign of Tutankhamun onward³⁵ and its blocks dispersed—principally to form the filling of Pylons II and IX at Karnak, built by Horemheb, but with many later straying widely, to buildings at Luxor and as far afield as Medamud.³⁶ Elements of sculpture originally deriving from these structures have also been found in reused contexts.³⁷

These blocks were much smaller than those customarily used for Egyptian temples, perhaps to aid manual handling and speed building, and are today

known as *talatat*. They seem to have derived from a quarry at Silsila East, where a rock stela at the top of the cliff (fig. 81)³⁸ commemorates stone being extracted to “fashion the great *bn-bn* (solar fetish) of Re-Horakhty-in-his-Name-Shu-Re-Who-is-in-Aten in Karnak”—a slight evolution of the epithet introduced under Amenhotep III (p. 52). Interestingly, it is Amun who was shown being adored by the king at the top, who is called—for the first, and apparently only, time—high priest of Re-Horakhty, tying in, of course, with the purpose of this quarrying activity.



Fig. 80. Scene of Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti showing the ongoing contrast between the style adopted respectively for the faces of the king and queen, although that of the latter is no longer in purely classical style. From Karnak (Munich ÄS4231+7261).

Four separate structures are named on the *talatat*: the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*, the *Rwd-mnw-n-'Itn-r-nḥḥ*, the *Tnī-mnw*, and the *Ḥwt-bnbn*, possibly decorated in this order based on the style of blocks deriving from each of the structures.³⁹ The purposes of the *Rwd-mnw* and the *Tnī-mnw* remain obscure, although the fact that the latter seems to have been largely decorated with domestic scenes might hint at a more residential role. By its name, the *Ḥwt-bnbn* was clearly an innermost sanctuary, perhaps for the fetish mentioned in the Silsila quarry stela (cf., however, just below). To judge from its decoration, the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* was

intimately involved with a jubilee celebration, to which we will return shortly. As for their original locations, only the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* has been located archaeologically, to the northeast of the Amun temple at Karnak (map 5). Its blocks have been recovered largely from Pylon II and scattered locations to the north (plus a few in Pylon IX); those of the *Hwt-bnbn* have come both from these locations and also from the foundations of the Hypostyle Hall; those from the other two structures seem mainly to have come from Pylon IX and Luxor, which might suggest that they lay to the south of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* and the *Hwt-bnbn*. It has further been suggested that the *Rwd-mnw* was perhaps farther away than the *Tnl-mnw* on the basis of the levels in which their respective blocks were reused in Pylon IX.⁴⁰

Only the western half of the great colonnaded court of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* has been revealed, although it has been estimated that the whole building may have stretched back some seven hundred meters. Its western façade was 210 meters wide and approached by a ramp, flanked by a pylon ten meters wide,⁴¹ on an axis that ran roughly midway between the main Amun temple and Amenhotep III's new temple complex at Karnak North. A ceremonial approach presumably ran along this axis to the riverbank, a strip that remains largely uninvestigated and occupied by a number of Third Intermediate Period monuments. The southern wall of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* ran directly north of the main axis of the Amun temple, which was also the axis of the single Lateran obelisk erected by Thutmose IV (see p. 36, fig. 30, above); this could support the view that at least some of the other three Aten structures lay to the south of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*.



Fig. 81. The stela of Amenhotep IV at the top of the Silsila-East quarries marking the first phase of quarrying work there for the king's projects. The upper part contained a tableau of Amenhotep IV offering to Amun, the latter erased later in the same king's reign, the former after his death.

Indeed, it is possible that the *Hwt-bnbn* may actually have had a more intimate relationship with the single obelisk, since the word *bnbn* in texts from

the *Hwt-bnbn* is determined, not by the conical or pyramidal shape usually used for the solar fetish, but by an obelisk. Accordingly, it is possible that Amenhotep IV's *Hwt-bnbn* was erected around his grandfathers' monument at the rear of the Amun temple,⁴² where all traces will have been later obliterated by the building of Rameses II's East Temple of Re-Horakhty and Taharqa's Eastern Colonnade.⁴³ Alternatively, the *Hwt-bnbn* may have lain further east, with its own single obelisk, perhaps aligned with that of Thutmose IV, which would place the *Hwt-bnbn* around the southeast corner of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* courtyard.

From the surviving blocks, the *Hwt-bnbn* can be seen to have had thin walls, and was fronted by narrow pylons with broken lintels. It additionally incorporated at least a dozen square piers, perhaps as an approach colonnade.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the king is apparently nowhere to be seen in the *Hwt-bnbn*—throughout the building, the royal officiant was his wife Nefertiti. That its construction should be dated somewhat later than the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* is suggested by the fact that Nefertiti is generally accompanied by the royal couple's eldest daughter, Meryetaten, and in rarer cases⁴⁵ by her younger sisters, Meketaten and Ankhesenpaaten,⁴⁶ contrasting with their absence in the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*.⁴⁷

Turning back to the courtyard of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*, its piers were fronted by colossal statues, in granite, quartzite, and sandstone (fig. 82).⁴⁸ The latter were apparently originally carved for Amenhotep IV in traditional style, but subsequently almost entirely recarved in the revolutionary style.⁴⁹ Over sixty statues or fragments thereof survive, perhaps representing some forty to fifty original statues, comprising some of the most striking examples of the distortions of the human body inherent in the revolutionary style.⁵⁰ Although the vast majority represented Amenhotep IV, it has been suggested that some may have represented Nefertiti, and that the whole group may have had a secondary significance of the king and queen as incarnations of Atum, Shu, and Tefnut. Certainly a number of the figures wore the twin feathers of Shu upon their heads (for example, fig. 83), although the majority bore double crowns—all atop *nms* or *h3t*-head coverings (and perhaps representing Atum).⁵¹ Unfortunately, textual confirmation for any of these conclusions is lacking.

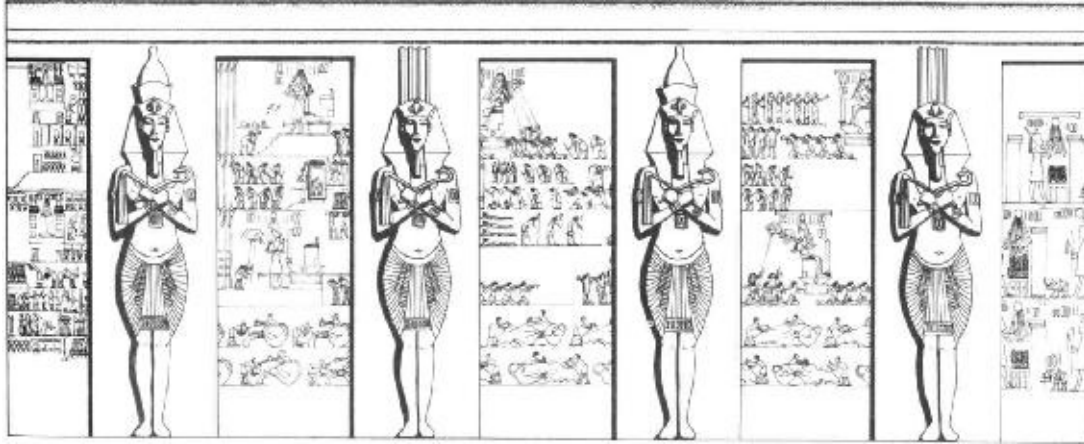


Fig. 82. Reconstruction of a colonnade of the courtyard of the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn*, showing the jubilee scenes and the sandstone colossi that adorned it.

The interior walls of the colonnade were extensively decorated in relief, the surviving blocks indicating that the subject was principally a *heb-sed* jubilee.⁵² The exact date of this ceremony is nowhere preserved (although there is a tantalizing fragment mentioning “[...] *3ht* 3” (or “5”)), although the lack of any sign of children would point to fairly soon after the marriage, perhaps in Year 2. It has been proposed that this was merely the first of a series of such jubilees, but the only evidence for this is the plural epithet *imy-ḥbw-sd* given to the Aten on blocks from a number of the Karnak structures.⁵³

A jubilee so early in the reign seems most curious and various explanations have been put forward. Proponents of a long co-regency have suggested that it might have coincided with one of the jubilees of Amenhotep III.⁵⁴ Even when rejecting the co-regency, the suspicion of a connection between the jubilees remains, especially as a Year 2 Amenhotep IV jubilee would fall three to four years after Amenhotep III’s Third Jubilee, thus conforming to the three-to-four-year spacing of repeat *heb-seds*.

In this connection, and particularly in view of Amenhotep III’s post-jubilee status as a solar deity, it has also been speculated whether the Amenhotep IV jubilee might actually have been that of the Aten, rather than just the king.⁵⁵ While there is no direct evidence for this being the case,⁵⁶ it surely cannot be a coincidence that the jubilee coincides not only with the definitive transfiguration of the Aten into its disk form but also the inauguration of the revolutionary artistic style, and that subsequently the Aten possessed the epithets *imy-ḥb(w)-sd* and *nb-ḥb(w)-sd*. Interestingly, the sandstone colossi, which must, given the number involved, have been commissioned significantly in advance of the

jubilee, lack the *imy-ḥb-sd* epithets found in the wall reliefs.



Fig. 83. Head of one the sandstone colossi of Amenhotep IV from the *Gm(t)-p3-'Itn* at Karnak East, in this case wearing Shu feathers (Cairo JE98894).

The jubilee scenes include a First Prophet of Neferkheperure-Waenre, who

stands behind the king carrying his sandals, apparently indicating a deification of the king while yet alive that clearly parallels that of his father at his jubilee, a decade earlier.⁵⁷ However, no such office is known on subsequent monuments, and it may be that the post went into abeyance during the evolution of the theology of the god and the king over the coming years.

Probably to be dated around the same time as the building of the Karnak structures is the construction of the ‘triple temple’ within the town enclosure at Sesebi, an apparently new settlement in Upper Nubia.⁵⁸ Probably dedicated to the Theban triad, its decoration included crypt scenes⁵⁹ of the king and Nefertiti before various deities, including Geb, Shu, and the deified Amenhotep III. While the deities remained in traditional style, the depictions of the king and queen may have been subsequently modified into the revolutionary one.⁶⁰ A further temple was erected at Sesebi slightly later, apparently a sun sanctuary, to judge from its form and the preservation of a fragment bearing one of the early Aten cartouches.⁶¹ It is possible that work was begun at other sites at the same time: a block showing Amenhotep IV in jubilee dress, but not fitting well into the Karnak assemblage on the basis of style or material (limestone—fig. 84), may have come from Memphis (on the Aten cult at Memphis, see p. 134).⁶²



Fig. 84. Limestone *talatat* block showing Amenhotep IV, with his nomen re-cut as Akhenaten, at which time additional texts referring to Akhet-Aten seem to have been added. Perhaps from Memphis (Fitzwilliam EGA.2300.1943).

Revolutionary-style depictions of the king and queen are also found in a small number of private tomb-chapels at Thebes. Best known is that of the vizier Ramose (TT55), the decoration of which was begun under Amenhotep III, continued in classical style under Amenhotep IV, and was just beginning to have

scenes added in the revolutionary style when the owner died (fig. 85). A funerary procession was then added in paint in classical style, indicating that the revolutionary style had only just begun to be promulgated at Ramose's death and that classical composition was still possible, particularly for a motif of this kind.⁶³

Other known tombs in the Theban necropolis with decoration carried out under Amenhotep IV include those of Ipy (TT136), which included what seem to have been four figures of the king in Osirid pose, and of Parennefer, the king's steward (TT188),⁶⁴ who later constructed a tomb at Amarna (TA7—p. 133). TT188, although badly damaged, contains representations of both the raptor-headed Re-Horakhty being worshiped by the tomb owner, and the sun disk above the king and queen rewarding the tomb owner, indicating its transitional date.

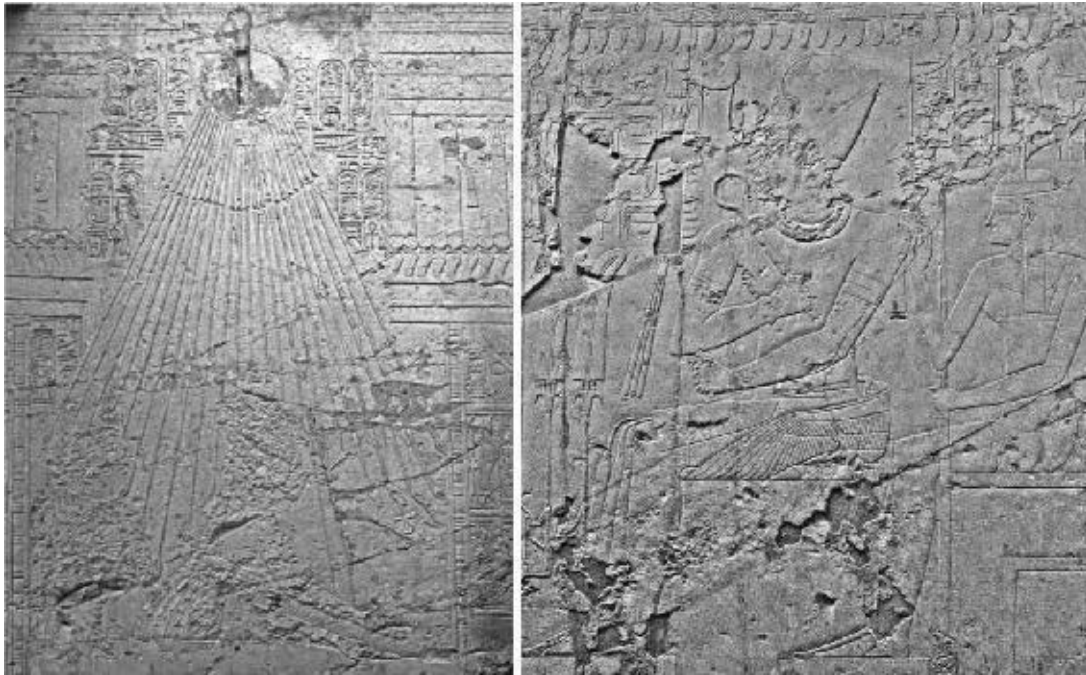


Fig. 85. The tomb-chapel of Ramose (TT55) is one of a handful of monuments that spanned the transition between the styles of Amenhotep IV's representations. Left: Amenhotep IV shown in classical style with the goddess Maat behind him; right: the king and Nefertiti in revolutionary style.

Also at Thebes-West, revolutionary-style depictions were added to some of the exterior walls of the sun court of the memorial temple of Amenhotep III. From the few surviving fragments, these seem to have comprised bucolic and desert scenes.⁶⁵

Firmly dated material from the earliest years of Amenhotep IV's reign is relatively limited. A letter from the king of Mitanni bears a date probably to be read as Year 2 (see p. 81), while Years 2, 3, and 4 feature in a series of papyri from Kahun.⁶⁶ These comprise a series of contracts beginning in Years 27 and 33 of Amenhotep III, all including the same individuals, with one document⁶⁷ comprising sections dated to not only Year 27 of Amenhotep III but also to Years 2 and 3 of Amenhotep IV. The others cover just Year 33⁶⁸ and Year 4,⁶⁹ but the likelihood of such constancy of protagonists over an apparent decade and a half has been queried by those who would propose a long co-regency between Amenhotep III and IV. However, the appearance of a Year 33 document sits badly with a co-regency generally held to have begun in or before Year 30 and, in any case, while the period is considerable, it is not particularly excessive in the context of a small community and is thus not usable as primary evidence.⁷⁰

A Year 4 expedition to Wadi Hammamat under the high priest of Amun, May, to quarry stone for a statue of the king is recorded in a text there.⁷¹ Some form of other expedition into the same region is commemorated by graffiti in the nearby Wadi Abu Qwai, one showing the king and queen's cartouches under the Aten's rays⁷² and another with an official adoring the king's cartouches.⁷³

On III *prt* 19 of Year 5, the Steward of Memphis Ipy wrote to Amenhotep IV from Gurob.⁷⁴ It was a routine report on the state of the royal estate there, but it is interesting in that it is the last mention of the king under his birth name. The next recorded date in the reign, falling less than a month later, is distinctly more portentous than these workaday documents and will be the subject of the end of this chapter.

At his accession, Amenhotep IV of course inherited the diplomatic correspondence of his father. As we have seen (p. 80), Burnaburiash II of Babylon seems to have come to the throne not long before Amenhotep III's death, his remaining correspondence being with the new pharaoh.⁷⁵ Although the kings had changed, the Egyptian's desire for a Babylonian princess was maintained, and one was eventually sent.⁷⁶ This followed the death of the sister of Burnaburiash who had married Amenhotep III many years before (and of whom Kadashman-Enlil claimed to have heard nothing). The date of this marriage is unclear, but if it marked the culmination of the negotiations begun under Amenhotep III it is likely to have occurred during the earlier years of the new reign. On the other hand, at least one letter⁷⁷ mentions the pharaoh's daughter "Mayati."⁷⁸ This has generally been assumed⁷⁹ to refer to Meryetaten

just prior to or after her elevation in status, ultimately to Great Wife, late in the reign (for which see pp. 143–44). However, as the letter seems to say that Burnaburiash has only just “heard” of her, one wonders if the greeting-gift sent to her is to celebrate her birth, as Amenhotep IV’s first-born.⁸⁰

The hectoring and complaining tone of the previous Babylonian correspondence continues throughout,⁸¹ both in matters of protocol (apparent lack of concern when Burnaburiash was ill; excessive delays in returning messengers; volumes of gold sent); and more substantive matters (the murder of Babylonian merchants in territory that owed allegiance to the Egyptians). Complaints also came from a less expected direction, from Egypt’s old friend Tushratta, in a letter bearing a hieratic docket explicitly dating it to Year 2, received while the king was in Thebes.⁸² Amenhotep III had apparently agreed to send Tushratta a number of solid gold statues, but had died before they were shipped. Now, Tushratta had received statues of gilded wood instead and accordingly wrote to Amenhotep IV complaining that he had not fulfilled his late father’s wishes. Not only that but, as already noted (see p. 86), he also wrote to Tiye, on the basis that she would have had first-hand knowledge of Amenhotep III’s intentions and thus would be able to confirm to her son the true nature of the agreement.

Tiye is further dragged into Egypto-Mitannian relations in another letter⁸³—presumably dating to the same time—in which Tushratta protests that his messengers have been detained, and apparently imprisoned, by the Egyptians. Amenhotep IV is exhorted to consult his mother over the nature of the relationship that had existed between Amenhotep III and Tushratta, presumably with the view that this would resolve whatever issue had led to the Mitannian messengers’ plight. That Tushratta felt that a crisis in relationships was developing is indicated by a long letter⁸⁴ in which he rehearses the recent acts of friendship between the powers, his grief at Amenhotep III’s death, and dismay at the substitution of the gilded wooden statues for the gold ones he had been promised. He also cites the issue of the detention of the messengers and a number of other outstanding issues. Tushratta also once again enjoins Amenhotep IV to consult Tiye and to fulfill Amenhotep III’s commitments regarding gold.

No further letters survive from Tushratta, although he remained on the Mitannian throne for another two decades, albeit with his territory progressively reduced by Hittite incursions.⁸⁵ It has been suggested that this may have been a consequence of the outbreak shortly afterward of hostilities between Mitanni and

Shuppiluliuma in the latter's "First Syrian" or "One Year" War,⁸⁶ but may also be an artifact of the preservation of material (see p. 135).

During the first five years of the reign of Amenhotep IV, although there had been a radical transformation of the Aten into a fully fledged deity, with his own temples and a revolution in the mode of representing both him and the king, the latter had maintained his Amun-invoking nomen, while the new god was seemingly being assimilated into the broader pantheon. However, the fifth year saw further radical changes that put Egypt on a wholly new trajectory.

On IV *prt* 13 of that year, the king stood on a desolate plain on the east bank of the Nile, almost exactly midway between Thebes and Memphis (fig. 86), and, having made offerings to the Aten, made a proclamation to an assembly of courtiers:

As the Aten is beheld, the Aten desires that there be made for him [...] as a monument with an eternal and everlasting name. Now, it is the Aten, my father, who gave me counsel concerning it, (namely) Akhet-Aten. No official has ever given counsel to me concerning it, not any of the people who are in the entire land has ever given counsel to me concerning it, to suggest making Akhet-Aten in this distant place. It was the Aten, my fath[er, who gave counsel to me] concerning it, so that it might be made for him as Akhet-Aten. See, I did not find it equipped with shrines or plastered with tombs or façades [...] or covered with [...] or] the remnant of any event, so it was not [...] me [...] Akhet-Aten for the Aten my father.

See, it is Pharaoh l.p.h. who has discovered it, as not being the property of a god, nor being the property of a goddess, nor being the property of a ruler, nor being the property of a female ruler, nor being the property of any people able to lay claim to it [...] I found it as if it were a widow [...]. It was the Aten, my [father] who gave me counsel concerning it [saying]: "See, [fill] Akhet-Aten with provisions, as a storehouse for everything," while my father Living-Re-Horakhty-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon-in-his-Name-Shu-who-is-in-the-Aten proclaimed to me: "It is to belong to my majesty, to be Akhet-Aten in perpetuity and for ever."



Fig. 86. The plain of Tell el-Amarna, from the cliffs at the northern end of the site.

See I am making an oath about it, saying: I shall make Akhet-Aten [for the Aten], my [father ... them], for they are desired [...] for Aten to arise every day, filling them with his fair and loving rays, at the seeing of which every land lives, and shedding them on Neferkheperure-Waenre [while he] commands for him [...] in life and dominion for ever and eternity, for I have made [...] name—namely the King's Great Wife Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti⁸⁷

I shall make Akhet-Aten for the Aten, my father, in this place.

I shall not make Akhet-Aten for him to the south of it, to the north of it, to the west of it, to the east of it. I shall not expand beyond the southern stela of Akhet-Aten toward the south, nor shall I expand beyond the northern stela of Akhet-Aten toward the north, in order to make Akhet-Aten for him there. Nor shall I make (it) for him on the western side of Akhet-Aten, but I shall make Akhet-Aten for the Aten, my father, on the east of Akhet-Aten, the place which he himself made to be enclosed for him by the mountain, on which he may achieve joy and on which I shall offer to him: this is it....

At Akhet-Aten in this place, I shall make the "House of the Aten" for the Aten, my father, in Akhet-Aten in this place. I shall make the "Mansion of the Aten" for the Aten, my father, in Akhet-Aten in this

place. I shall make the Sunshade of the [King's Great] Wife [Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti] for the Aten, my father, in Akhet-Aten in this place. I shall make the House-of-Rejoicing for the Aten, my father, in the "Island-of-the-Aten-Distinguished-in-Jubilees" in Akhet-Aten in this place... I shall make for myself the residence of Pharaoh, I shall make the residence of the King's Great Wife in Akhet-Aten in this place.

Let a tomb be made for me in the eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten. Let my burial be made in it, in the millions of jubilees that the Aten, my father, has decreed for me. Let the burial of the King's Great Wife, Nefertiti, be made in it, in the millions of yea[rs which the Aten, my father, decreed for her. Let the burial of] the King's Daughter, Meryetaten, [be made] in it, in these millions of years. If I die in any town downstream, to the south, to the west, to the east in these millions of years, let me be brought (here), so that I may be buried in Akhet-Aten. If the King's Great Wife Nefertiti—may she live—dies in any town downstream, to the south, to the west, to the east in these millions [of years, let her be brought here, so that] she [may be buried in Akhet-Aten. If the King's Daughter Meryetaten dies] in any town downstream, to the south, to the west, to the east in the millions of years, let her be brought here, so that she may be buried in Akhet-Aten. Let a cemetery for the Mnevis Bull [be made] in the eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten, that he may [be buried] in it. Let the tomb chapels for the Greatest of Seers, for the God's Fathers of the [... the] Aten be made in the eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten, that they may be buried in it. Let [the tombs] of the priests of the [Aten] be [made in the eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten] that they may b[e bur]ied in it.⁸⁸


A wholly new capital city was thus being decreed, virgin territory being dedicated to the Aten, with royal palaces and tombs for the royal family and the priesthood. Up to this point the surviving copies of the text (see below) combine to produce a clear understanding of what was being said. Unfortunately, the next part, which may provide the political context for the proclamation, is badly broken and has given rise to a variety of interpretations.

The king states that something was "worse than those that I heard in Year 4" (and also in Years 1, 2, and 3), and worse than had been heard by three earlier kings: the names are all damaged and only the last can be read with any clarity—giving the prenomen of either Thutmose III or IV.⁸⁹ Given the retrograde

chronology of the earlier part of the section, and the number of kings involved, Thutmose III seems the only option, with the other pair two of Amenhotep III, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep II.⁹⁰ It then notes that the something was worse than those “heard by any kings who had assumed the White Crown.” The following section seems to talk about ‘offensive’ speech against the Aten (although this is not entirely clear).

More broken text follows, apparently regarding the Aten’s area of dominion and the festivals and offerings to be made for him, including a promise that any further jubilees would be celebrated in Akhet-Aten and not elsewhere, and the allocation of resources to the cult. A long section of text then, entirely unreadable, before concluding with a statement that, in light of the foregoing, “the entire land rejoiced ... for one (i.e., the king)” had come to rest in Akhet-Aten.

The king’s proclamation was carved on a pair of stelae (now dubbed M and X)⁹¹ carved in the cliffs that marked the northern and southern extremities of the plain, known today as Tell el-Amarna.⁹² However, stela M seems to have begun to suffer from natural erosion soon after its carving and was replaced by the adjacent stela K (fig. 87).⁹³ The stelae showed the king and queen at the top, worshipping the Aten, with their daughter Meryetaten behind them—to whom their second daughter Meketaten was secondarily added, suggesting her birth in Year 5/6—with the text arranged in a mixture of vertical columns above and rows below.

It has been proposed that the foundation ceremonies enshrined in the aforementioned proclamation were carried out in what was to become the *Hwt-’Itn*, the ‘Small Aten Temple,’ on a day that the sun, when viewed from there, rose from the mouth of the Wadi Abu Hisah el-Bahari—a valley running back from the Amarna plain that would become its Royal Wadi—the cliffs on either side giving the impression of the *ꜥḥt* hieroglyph () in the new city’s name—Akhet-Aten, ‘the Horizon of Aten’ (fig. 88).⁹⁴

The motivations behind the foundation of Akhet-Aten have been discussed repeatedly. Aside from the act of founding a new city, the king also changed his nomen from Amenhotep to Akhenaten, ‘Effective spirit of Aten’ reinforcing his orientation toward the new incarnation of the sun. At the same time, he added a further regular extra-cartouche epithet to the pre-existing *ꜥꜣ m ꜥḥꜥ.f: ꜥnh m mꜣꜥt*, ‘Living in Maat.’ Maat is often summarily translated as ‘truth,’ but actually referring to the wider concept of cosmic order.⁹⁵ A change is seen at the same

time in the name of the queen as well. Although she is simply ‘Nefertiti’ in most of the proclamation, in one case (on stela X only) she is given the expanded cartouche Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti, which had occasionally been used at Thebes,⁹⁶ but would soon become her formal name for the rest of her queenly career. Theologically, providing the Aten with its own ‘hometown’ was fully in keeping with tradition, where all deities had one or more towns that were ‘theirs.’ However, the previously mentioned broken “worse than” passage has been construed as an indication of a major confrontation having finally pushed the king to taking the step—with a clash with the priesthood of Amun often posited.



Fig. 87. Boundary stela K, the best-preserved of the earlier set of Amarna boundary markers.



Fig. 88. View from the axis of the Small Aten Temple to the mouth of the Royal Wadi at Amarna.

But the section in question gives frustratingly little evidence on which to base such an interpretation. Given that the immediately preceding section deals with the allocation of burial places, it has been suggested that the “worse than” section has something to do with opposition to abandoning family cemeteries to go to Amarna.⁹⁷ However, the citation of events going back to the time of, apparently, Thutmose III makes something as prosaic as this rather unlikely.

Thus, all one can say is that the foundation of Akhet-Aten may have followed perhaps the anniversary of some event or other that was held to have some significance to that act. In the present state of knowledge it seems difficult to move beyond this point without moving uncomfortably into the realm of fiction.

THE HORIZON OF THE ATEN

Following the foundation ceremonies of Year 5, work presumably began on the detailed laying out and construction of the city. Exactly a year after his original proclamation, Akhenaten delivered a further declaration from “the southeastern mountain of Akhet-Aten,” having departed from the “pavilion of matting” that currently represented the royal accommodation in the just-begun city. It essentially reconfirmed the provisions of what is now generally termed the “Earlier Proclamation” of the previous year, including a repetition of the statement that the city limits of Akhet-Aten were immutable¹ and a more detailed exposition of those limits. These were delineated by a new series of twelve (known) additional boundary stelae A, B, F, H, J, N, P, Q, R, S, U, and V (map 3).²

Rather than just marking the north and south riverside boundaries of Akhet-Aten as had the earlier stelae, they were also placed further inland, along the northern (V and U) and southern (N) arcs of cliffs and also in the wadis to the far southeast (H, P, Q, R, and S), apparently the area in which this “Later Proclamation” was made. In addition, stelae A, B, and F were placed in the cliffs and foothills on the west bank to confirm the annexation of a vast swathe of agricultural land on the west bank of the Nile to feed the settlement on the then largely barren east bank. These “Later” stelae were more elaborate than the early ones, with a more extensively decorated lunette and emplacements in the cliffs that included a series of rock-cut statues of the king, queen, and two eldest daughters (fig. 89). An image of Ankhesenpaaten was added to the subsidiary sculptures of stelae A, B, P, Q, and U, suggesting that she was born while these

stelae were being carved in Year 6/7.



Fig. 89. Boundary stela A on the west side of the Nile.

The city site itself comprised a plain largely hemmed in by cliffs that came down to the river's edge in the north and terminated in a series of lower hills and wadis in the south. The buildings making up the city³ were spread over some six kilometers along the waterfront, and around a kilometer back from it (see map 4). They were all aligned with an axis running from the far north to the south, although the southern section curved toward the west to follow the curve of the river. This axis formed the Royal Road, an appellation followed in the modern name Darb el-Melek. At the midpoint lay the Central City, its principal buildings fronting onto the Royal Road (fig. 90). These centered on a pair of large

structures linked by a bridge over the latter, the one on the east today dubbed the King's House, the one to the west, with a river frontage as well, the Great Palace, although their precise respective roles are a matter of some conjecture. Behind the King's House lay a series of buildings which seem to have housed elements of the government apparatus, to judge both from their proximity to the palace and the survival of names of administrators on labels found in the area; one building was also constructed of bricks stamped "House of Correspondence of Pharaoh," whence the Amarna Letters derived. It thus seems likely that the King's House was more Akhenaten's administrative palace, with the much larger Great Palace intended more for ceremonial activities, to judge from its dramatic axes, courtyards, architecture, and decoration. Like many of the other high-status buildings, both were built primarily of mud brick, and were extensively decorated with painted walls and floors.⁴

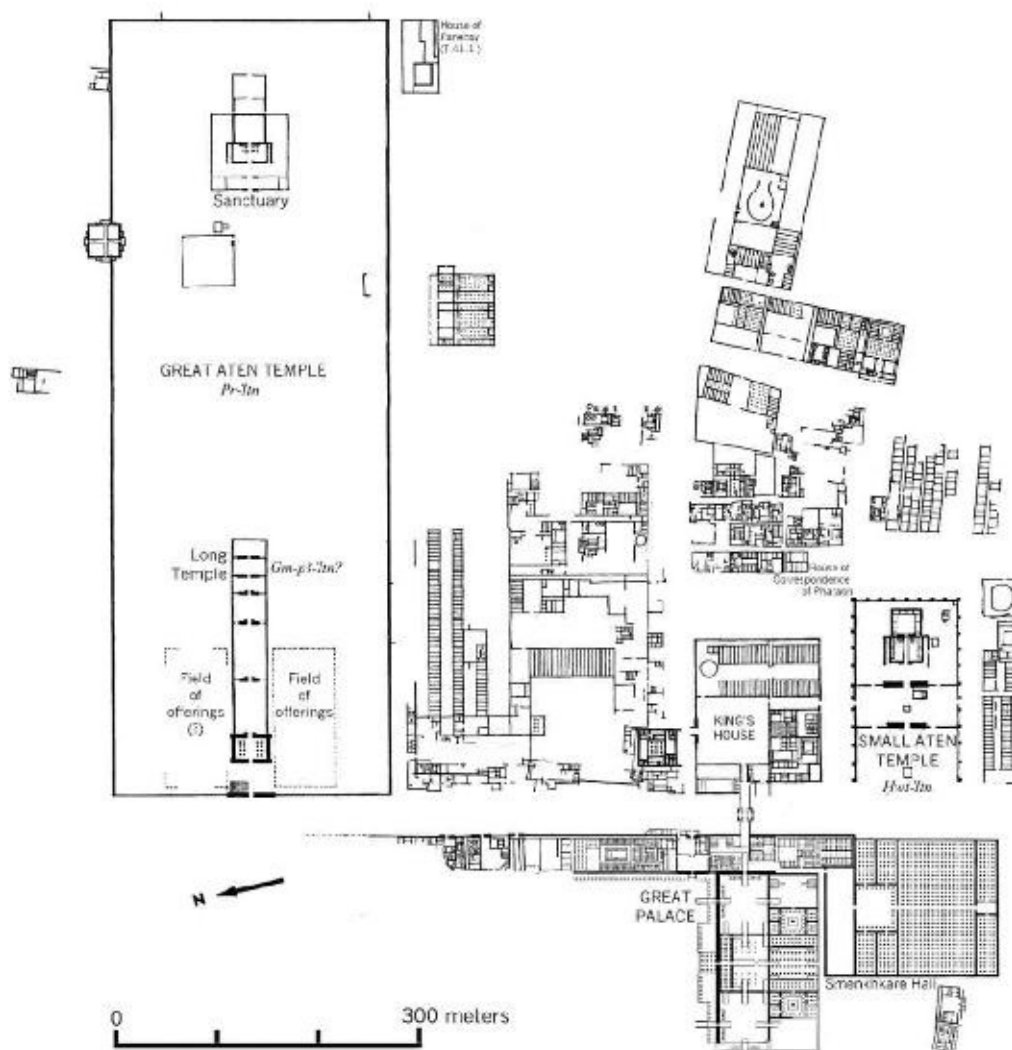


Fig. 90. Plan of the Central City at Amarna.

The King's House and administrative blocks were flanked by the city's two principal sanctuaries of the Aten. To the north was the Great Aten Temple (*Pr-'Itn*, also incorporating the *Hwt-bnbn*), separated from the King's House by a large complex of service buildings, including a bakery and brewery to provide offerings. The Great Aten Temple comprised two distinct elements within its huge enclosure (eight hundred meters east–west, three hundred north–south), entered via a massive pylon gateway of brick;⁵ although now severely damaged, reconstruction of the Great Temple is aided by its depiction in a number of Amarna tomb-chapels. In the western half was the stone-built 'Long Temple' (perhaps originally named *Gm-p3-'Itn*) with a porched pylon entrance and then a series of six open courts, separated by pylons. The final two courts each seem to have contained a single major offering table in their centers, surrounded by rows of smaller ones. The outer courts were filled with these smaller offering tables, while the Long Temple itself was flanked by fields of further examples, numbering some 920 on the south (and probably the same number on the north), to add to the 791 within the Long Temple. Three hundred forty meters behind the Long Temple was the Sanctuary; it was a building of a rather different shape, but also one largely open to the sky, its courtyards filled with offering tables.

The Small Aten Temple (*Hwt-'Itn*), placed directly south of the King's House, was similar to the sanctuary in its overall plan. Its outer courtyards contained 106 offering tables, with a stone-built inner sanctuary beyond. Of the structure and its adornments, only a few fragments have been found in situ, some of which have been used to re-erect two columns of the sanctuary (see fig. 88). Otherwise, the stone blocks used to build the temples—small *talatat* like those used at Karnak—were all removed when the buildings were demolished after Akhenaten's death. Some 1,500 blocks, from structures decorated late in the king's reign, perhaps within the Great Temple enclosure⁶ (see pp. 131–33), were reused in the cores and foundations of buildings of later kings at Ashmunein, on the east bank just north of Amarna.⁷

The temples and the stone elements of other buildings were largely of limestone derived from quarries in the close vicinity of Amarna, including a number behind the northern cliffs. The exceptions were calcites quarried at Hatnub, to the east of Amarna, a few particular architectural elements brought from Gebel el-Silsila, and hardstones derived from the quarries of Aswan, Gebel el-Ahmar (near Cairo), and elsewhere. The latter were largely employed for statuary, quantities being produced that came close to rivaling the production

rate of Amenhotep III; however, most were smashed to smithereens after Akhenaten's death.⁸

Statuary at Amarna is interesting in that there are many examples of composite works, where flesh and clothing were carved in different stones and then joined together. In particular, quartzite, naturally close to the most common Egyptian skin tone, was used for exposed flesh, with white linen clothing left to limestone or calcite, eyes and hair being further provided in other stones (figs. 91, 110 [right]).⁹ This technique was also used on occasion for two-dimensional work (fig. 92).



Fig. 91. Quartzite head of Nefertiti, formerly part of a composite statue, made of a range of stones whose natural colors corresponded to the appropriate part of the image. From Amarna (Cairo JE45547).

Residential quarters extended north and south of the Central City, comprising a mixture of large villas within their own enclosures and smaller houses, many of the latter having been occupied by the retainers of the owner of the adjacent big house.¹⁰ Far to the east was a pair of villages: one, the Workmen's Village, was apparently the residence of transplanted Deir el-Medina royal tomb

workmen from Thebes. The other, the Stone Village, may have been intended for later additions to the tomb-building workforce as the royal necropolis (see pp. 117, 147) expanded.

It seems that the domestic residences of the king and his family lay in the northern part of the site, where a large complex, the North Riverside Palace, was constructed, its privacy guaranteed by the way that the protective arm of northern cliffs swept around to meet the river directly beyond it. From here, the Royal Road led southward, past the North Palace (fig. 93), which seems on the basis of inscriptions to have (ultimately?) been that of Meryetaten. It is likely that it was the journey from these northern residences to the Central City that acquired iconic significance, as it seems to have been the basis for images of the royal family's chariot drive that was frequently included in private tomb-chapels at Amarna (e.g., figs. 94, 98).

Southeast of the North Palace, halfway to the cliffs, was a set of three structures dubbed the Desert Altars.¹¹ They comprise platforms approached by ramps and may have been in some way linked to the set of tomb-chapels in the cliffs beyond, in particular as the altars were constructed adjacent to the approach road to the tombs.



Fig. 92. Detail of a stela with composite relief depictions of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. The king's headdress and kilt were once inlaid in other materials, while almost all of the queen's image, apart from her face and hands, were inlaid. From Heliopolis (UPMAA E16230).

On the other hand, they may have been akin to a set of structures known as 'sunshades.' At least two were built to the south of the city and seem to have

been solar shrines (rather than the ‘pleasure palaces’ envisaged in the past) associated with female members of the royal family. They incorporated pairs of enclosures surrounding shallow pools and tree-lined gardens, surrounded by small pavilions. The northern of the two, Kom el-Nana,¹² appears to have been associated with Nefertiti, the southern one, the Maru-Aten,¹³ initially with Kiya, and then later with Meryetaten. The same southern area of the city seems the most likely location of the sunshade of Tiye, known from depictions in the tomb-chapel of her steward Huya (TA1),¹⁴ where a destroyed structure known as el-Mangara¹⁵ mentions the term ‘sunshade’ in its texts.

Other cult places existed within the gardens of the largest houses in the city. These are interesting in that the cult focus within them was usually a stela of the royal family adoring the Aten.¹⁶ This makes concrete a key feature of the Aten cult, that access to the Aten was apparently through the king—direct access to the godhead was apparently not possible.

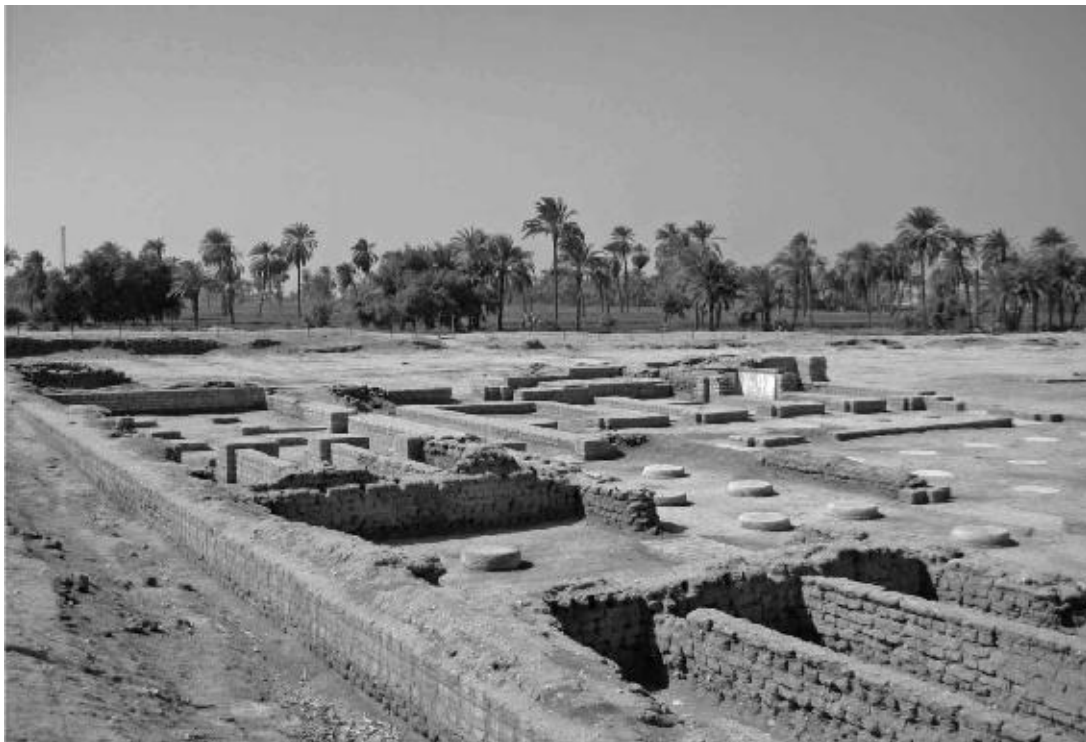


Fig. 93. The North Palace at Amarna.

Complementing these elements belonging to the living and the god, to the east lay Akhet-Aten’s world of the dead. This reversal of the usual orientation of Egyptian tombs may have been simply a reflection of local topographic reality—most cemeteries in this part of Egypt lay to the east, owing to the lack or

remoteness of the western cliffs from the Nile in the region. There may, however, have been a theological aspect, associating the dead with the sunrise rather than the sunset. Unfortunately, our knowledge of Amarna mortuary belief is too sketchy to be clear on this.

The royal burial places decreed in the Early Proclamation lay some three kilometers down the Royal Wadi, already noted as being apparently the focus for the original foundation of Akhet-Aten. Here was laid out what was intended to be the new Valley of the Kings. Prior to his move to Amarna, the king seems to have founded a tomb in the Western Valley of the Kings (WV25) which was, however, abandoned after only the outermost parts had been cut.¹⁷



Fig. 94. The south wall of the first hall of the tomb-chapel of Meryre i (TA4), showing the royal family's chariot journey, probably from the North Riverside Palace.

The tomb intended for the king and his family (TA26—fig. 17)¹⁸ differed significantly from earlier royal tombs. Its corridors were of much greater width and height than previously, also providing for the burial of members of the royal family in chambers and galleries opening off the main corridor, the latter a further extension of the arrangements seen in Amenhotep III's WV22 (see p. 82). In addition, the old combination of the funerary books and images of the king in the presence of the gods was replaced by a scheme focusing on the king's adoration of the Aten, together with what appears to be a new perspective on the

age-old Egyptian concept of rebirth.

Although any such scene relating to the king will have been lost in the destruction of most of his burial chamber's decoration, three scenes relating to the burials of members of the royal family (one certainly the second daughter, Meketaten) survive. At least two show a baby in the arms of a nurse outside the room in which the body of the deceased is being mourned (the third scene of the same basic pattern is destroyed at the point where a baby might have appeared—fig. 95). While this has often been explained as indicating that the death had been caused by childbirth,¹⁹ no indication of the cause of death is ever otherwise known to have been given in an Egyptian tomb. One might also question the likelihood that at least two, if not all three, of the individuals commemorated all died in childbirth. In addition, the similarities between the three scenes suggest a stereotyped composition, rather than one especially devised in reaction to a particular tragedy. Accordingly, it has been convincingly argued²⁰ that these scenes represent a new take on the concept of rebirth, now made more concrete by the depiction of the deceased as both a corpse and a baby.²¹ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine whether this was meant to be taken as simply rebirth in the next world or conceivably even some form of reincarnation, as the scenes in TA26 are the only extant Amarna funerary scenes, with little material known that would allow us to illuminate the detail of Atenist mortuary belief.²²

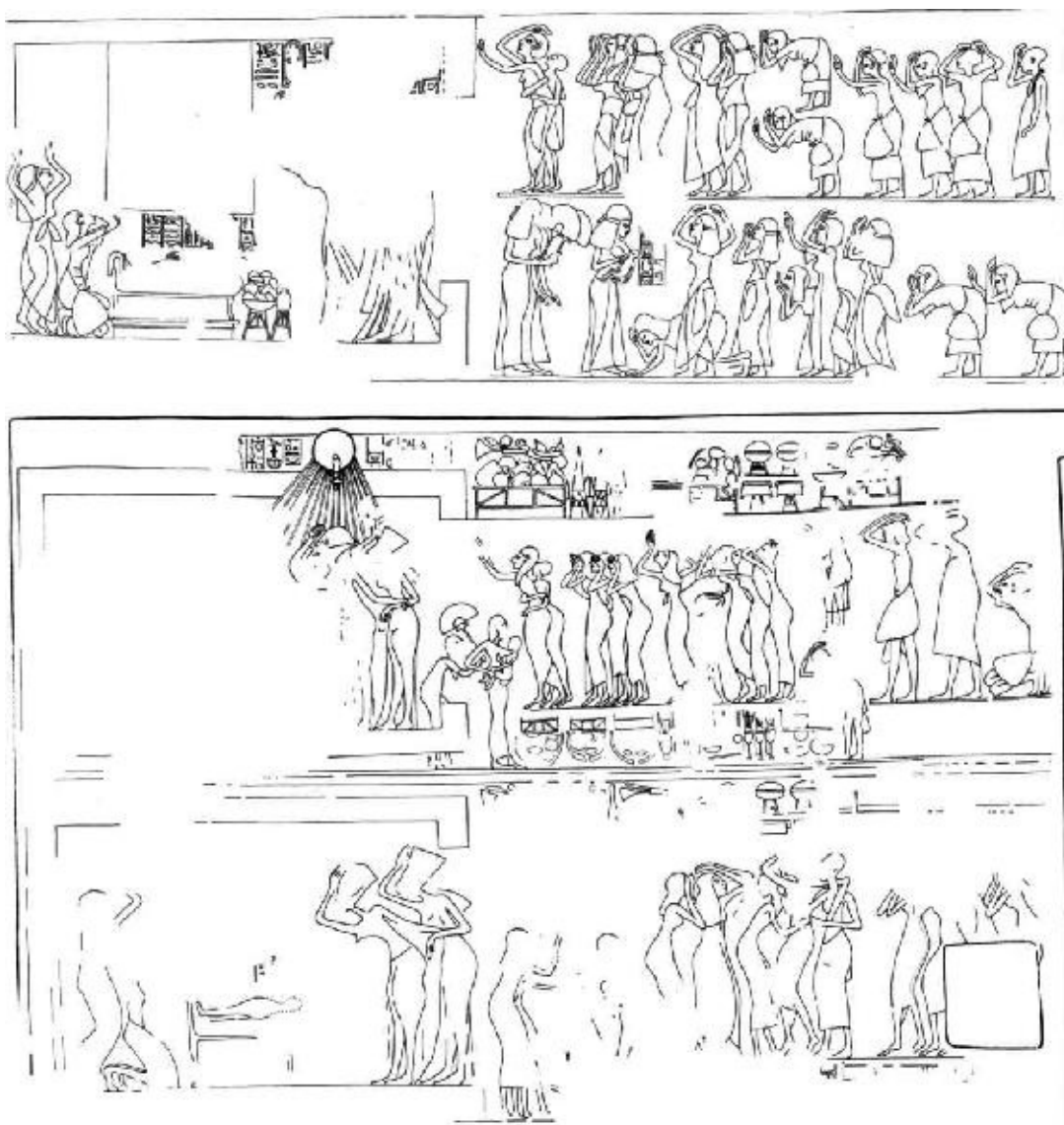


Fig. 95. Mourning scenes in the royal tomb at Amarna; the upper one is from the burial chamber of Meketaten (room γ), the lower (now anonymous) ones from room α . At least the first two incorporate a figure of the deceased as a baby outside the death chamber.



Fig. 96. The North Tombs at Amarna in the high cliffs to the northeast of the city.

The cliffs to the north of the Royal Wadi were used for some of the tomb-chapels belonging to the official classes of Akhet-Aten—the North Tombs (fig. 96). A set of low hills at the south of the site (the South Tombs) housed another set of sepulchers (fig. 97).²³ Architecturally, some of the chapels followed Theban plans, in particular some of the largest examples, with hypostyle cross halls of the type seen in the tombs of Ramose, Kheruef, and others (cf. p. 49),²⁴ but others adopted a design not commonly used at Thebes, featuring square four-pillared halls (fig. 98).²⁵ One particular architectural area in which many differed from Theban chapels was that the entrance to the substructure lay on the right-hand side of the main chamber, rather than the left—although a few did follow Theban norms in this. This was probably a reflection of the location of the Amarna tombs on the east bank and a desire to keep the substructure on the south side of the tomb, thus reversing the substructure's position vis-à-vis the tomb entrance.

The most marked change from the chapels at Thebes was, however, in the decorative schemes used (no decorated substructure is known). The time-hallowed agricultural scenes and the various owner-centric images found hitherto were swept away in favor of scenes depicting the activities of the royal family (figs. 94, 112). The tomb owner was relegated to a subsidiary figure, absent from much of the tomb, and only shown substantively receiving the king's largesse in the so-called "reward" scenes (fig. 99) and in the entrance to the tomb, accompanied by a prayer to the sun (e.g., fig. 100).



Fig. 97. In contrast, the South Tombs lay in low hills to the southeast.



Fig. 98. The outer hall of the tomb-chapel of Panehsy (TA6). The room originally had four pillars, but the near pair were removed when it was converted to a church. The modern barrier marks the descending passage toward the (never cut) burial chamber.

In some cases, this is the “Hymn to the Aten,” often quoted as the fundamental statement of the Aten religion.²⁶ Its fullest version, found in the tomb-chapel of Ay, reads as follows:

You appear beautifully from the horizon of heaven,
O living Aten, who initiates life!
You rise from the eastern horizon and have filled every land with your
beauty.
You are fair, great, dazzling, and high over every land.
Your rays enclose the lands to the limit of all that you have made.
You are Re, having reached to the limit of them and subdued them (for)
your beloved son.
Although you are far away, your rays are on earth and known.
When you set in the western horizon,
The land is in darkness, in the manner of death.

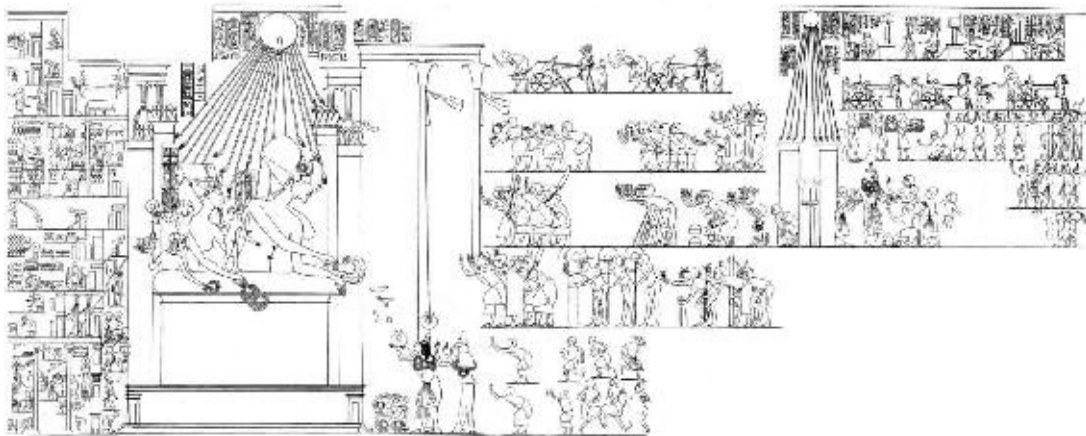


Fig. 99. The reward of Ay and his wife Tey as shown in his tomb-chapel (TA25). This is typical of such depictions in the Amarna private tombs. On the right, Ay returns home to show his riches to his retainers.

They sleep in a room, with heads covered, and one eye does not see the
other.
All their goods which are under their heads are stolen without them
realizing it;
Every lion is come out of its den,
All creeping things sting,
Darkness is a shroud, and the land is silent,
For he who made them rests in his horizon.

At daybreak, when you arise from the horizon,
When you shine as the Aten by day,
You drive away the darkness and give forth your rays.
The Two Lands are in festival every day,
Awake and standing upon feet, you have lifted them up.
Their limbs washed and wearing clothes, their arms are in praise at your
appearance,

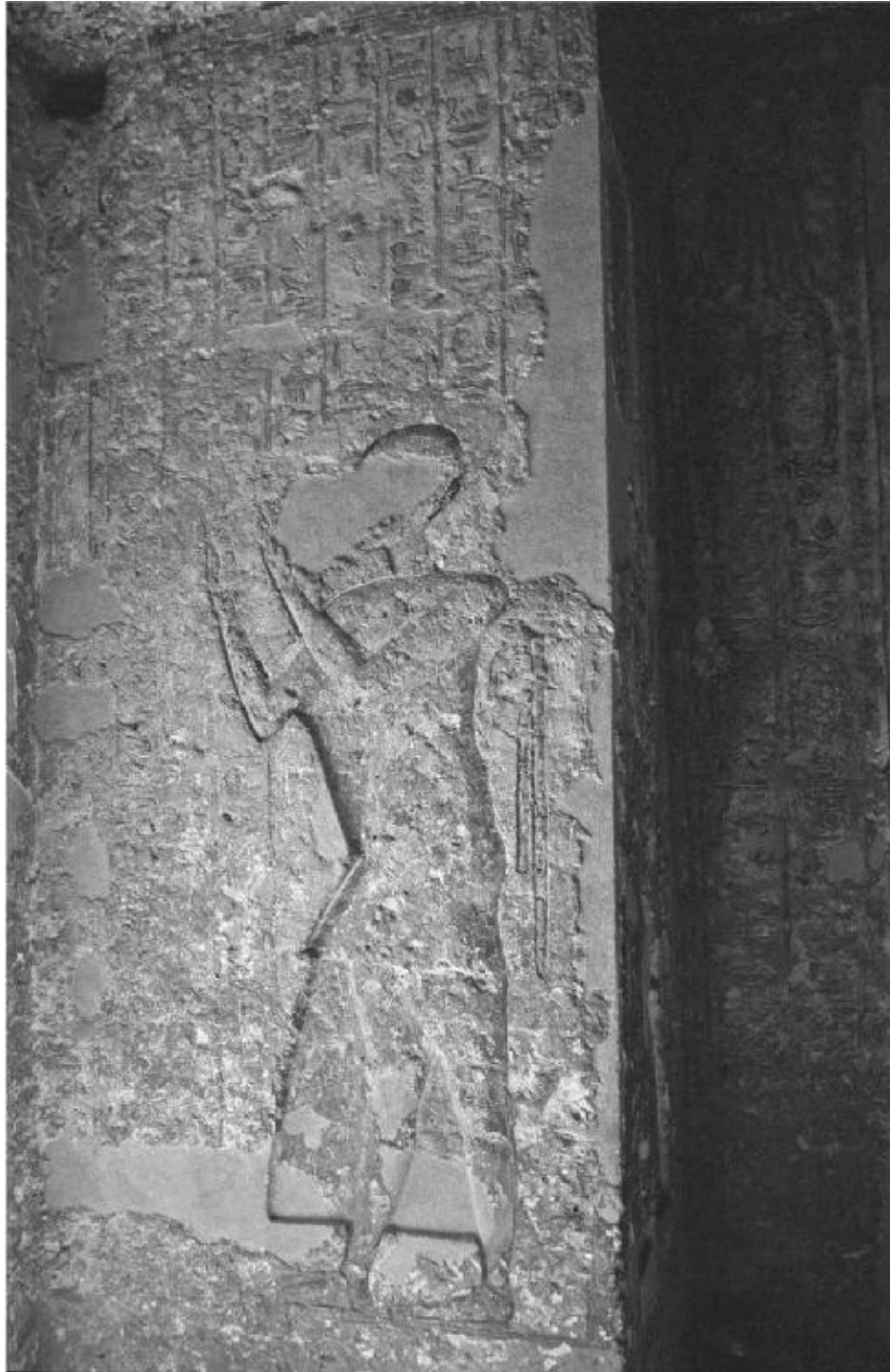


Fig. 100. Meryre i adoring the sun at the entrance to his tomb-chapel (TA4).

All the world, they do their work.
All flocks are content with their pasturage;
Trees and plants flourish.
Birds fly from their nests, their wings adoring your *ka*.

All small cattle spring upon their legs.
Whatever flies and alights,
They live when you rise for them.
Ships sail north and south as well,
For every road is open at your appearance.
The fish in the river leap in front of you;
Your rays are in the middle of the Great Green (sea).
You bring into being fetuses in women,
You make fluid in people,
You give life to the son in the womb of his mother and calm him with
that which stops his weeping,
Nurse in the womb, who gives breath to sustain all that he has made!
When he descends from the womb to breathe on the day when he is born,
You open his mouth completely,
You supply what he needs.
When the chick in the egg speaks within the shell,
You give him breath within it to cause him to live.
When you have made his appointed time for him, so that he may break
himself out of the egg,
He comes out of the egg to speak at his appointed time and goes on his
two legs when he comes out of it.
How manifold it is, what you have made!
They are hidden from the face (of humanity).
O sole god, like whom there is no other!
You create the world according to your desire, being alone.
People, all large and small animals,
Whatever is on earth, going upon legs or which rise up and fly with its
wings.
The countries of Syria and Nubia, the land of Egypt,
You set every man in his place,
You supply their requirements,
Each one has his food, and his time of life is reckoned.
Their tongues are separate in speech, their natures as well;
Their skins are distinct for you made the foreign peoples to be distinct.
You make an Inundation in the underworld,
You bring it forth as you wish to cause the people to live,
Since you made them for yourself,

The lord of all of them, wearying for them,
The lord of every land, rising for them,
The Aten of the day, great of majesty.
All distant foreign countries, you make their life,
For you have set an Inundation in heaven,
That it may descend for them and make torrents upon the mountains,
Like the Great Green,
To water their fields in their places.
How effective are your plans, O lord of eternity!
An Inundation in heaven, it is for the foreign peoples and for the beasts
of every desert that go on legs;
An Inundation that comes from the underworld for Egypt.
Your rays nurse every field.
When you rise, they live and grow for you.
You make the seasons in order to rear all that you make,
The winter to cool them and the heat that they may feel you.
You made the heaven far away just to rise in it, to see all that you make,
Being unique and risen in your form as the living Aten,
Manifest; shining; far; near,
You make millions of forms of yourself alone.
Cities, towns, fields, road, and river—
Every eye sees you in relation to them,
For you are the Aten of the day over the earth.
You are in my heart,
And there is none that knows you,
Save your son Neferkheperure-Waenre,
For you have made him aware of your plans and in your strength....

In this celebration of the Aten as the universal creator and sustainer of life, the final section is particularly interesting, in that it sets out Akhenaten as the god's sole interlocutor, with unique knowledge of the god's plans. Indeed, it makes concrete the king's personal name, as the 'Effective Spirit' of the god: his earthly delegate.

In addition to these high-status cemeteries, a number belonging to lesser citizens of Akhet-Aten have been identified. Examples lie in the area of the North Tombs and adjacent to the two workmen's villages, with a substantial one beyond the South Tombs.²⁷ This may originally have held some three thousand

bodies, most simply buried in the sand, or with some stones to delimit the cut or cover the body. A few were equipped with markers and occasionally a stela. There appears to have been no consistent orientation of the graves, while the unembalmed corpses were mainly enclosed in rush mats, except for a few which had rough coffins, occasionally of anthropoid form and decorated.

In addition, a number of what were apparently mortuary chapels lay adjacent to the Workmen's Village, presumably connected with a cemetery area close by.²⁸ The stelae from these chapels are interesting in the way that they combine faith in the Aten with the wider pantheon; for example, chapel 525 (of Ptahmay) had an entablature that invoked Amun, with its principal stela praising the Aten but also depicting and invoking Shed and Isis.²⁹ The key question here surrounds the date of this chapel—was it built during the reign of Akhenaten, or does it date to the time of Tutankhaten? The Workmen's Village itself certainly spans the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhaten, with some sixty percent of the inscribed ring bezels belonging to the latter, suggesting that it only came into existence relatively late in the reign of Akhenaten.³⁰

The fragments of the “royal” monuments at Amarna, however, show no overt religion other than that of the Aten.³¹ A continuing theological evolution can be seen during the reign, the original didactic name being revised to remove the residual references to Horus and Shu, resulting in the definitive formulation “Living-Re-Ruler-of-the-Two-Horizons-Rejoicing-in-the-Horizon-in-his-Name-of-Re-the-Father-who>Returns-as-Aten.”³² This change of name is generally dated in Year 9, on the basis that the new name first appears in the tomb-chapel of Panehsy (TA6), which seems to have been in the process of decoration at the time of the birth of Neferneferuaten-tasherit—probably born in Year 8/9 (given the birth date of her immediately elder sister—see p. 111). The change is generally interpreted as a shift toward a more austere monotheist conception of the Aten and suggested on occasion to have been the launch point of the proscription of Amun and his trinity.

A fundamental issue has long been how this local apparent monotheism related to the ancient cults of Egypt: were they proscribed; were they simply starved of resources; were they marginalized, but tolerated; or did they continue unmolested? The answer is certainly not straightforward. There is without doubt abundant evidence that Amun of Thebes was subject to a form of proscription: images of the god (and their spouse Mut) were the subject of widespread erasure (fig. 101), as were their names (fig. 102), even when incorporated into a person's

name, Amenhotep III's nomen being entirely erased in a number of cases. However, the dating of this proscription has been a matter of much debate, with most scholars espousing either an early date, soon after the move to Amarna, or during the very last years of Akhenaten.

In favor of the latter is that the vulture of Amun's consort, Mut, an icon generally erased as part of the proscription process, was included as part of the name of Nefertiti's sister Mutnedjmet in a number of Amarna tomb-chapels (e.g., fig. 71), all of which of course were decorated subsequent to the move to Amarna.³³ In addition, the door of a funerary shrine made for Queen Tiye subsequent to the change to the 'Later' form of the Aten's cartouches bore Amenhotep III's nomen, although the 'Amun' element was later erased.³⁴ This latter piece in particular would push the proscription of Amun later than the change in the Aten's names, an event that has been on occasion posited as a potential trigger for the persecution.³⁵



Fig. 101. Slab from the memorial temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan, found reused in the foundations of the southern tower of the pylon of the memorial temple of Merenptah. Amun's figure was destroyed in Akhenaten's campaign against the god.

No gods outside the Theban triad seem to have been affected by direct action,³⁶ although the retrospective Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun³⁷ suggests that non-Aten sanctuaries may have been starved of resources.³⁸ At Memphis, the interment of an Apis bull (Apis II) would appear to have taken place under Akhenaten,³⁹ but its stela shows, not the reigning king, but the Sixth Dynasty monarch Teti, perhaps reflecting a distancing between the Ptah cult and Akhenaten.



Fig. 102. Architraves in the sun court of the Luxor temple, showing the erasure of the name of Amun, both where it occurred independently and within the nomen of Amenhotep III.

At first sight this passivity seems to sit strangely with the active erasure of the plural of 'gods' in some contexts. However, this is generally in the context of Amun's title of King of the Gods, and one wonders whether here we have the clue to Akhenaten's antipathy to Amun—the latter's claim to dominion over other deities. If one thing is clear from the Great Hymn to the Aten it is the sun-god's status as the creator and sustainer of life and implicit standing as supreme god. Against this background it may be that it was Amun's pretensions as supreme deity that led to his being targeted for explicit persecution.

We may thus perceive something other than the absolute monotheism of a jealous god that has often been imputed to Akhenaten. What that something actually was has been much discussed, but it does seem that the king's monolatry of the Aten may provide the least unsound basis for analysis: that he worshiped a

single god, without any necessary implication of a belief that there was but one god.⁴⁰

In addition to Meryetaten, Meketaten, and Ankhesenpaaten, all apparently born by Year 6/7 (see. p. 111), at least three more daughters were born to Akhenaten and Nefertiti prior to Year 12, when all six were depicted in the tomb-chapel of Meryre ii (TA2—fig. 103). The youngest two, Neferneferure and Setepenre, are only clearly attested in that tomb, while the fourth daughter, Neferneferuatentasherit, appears for the first time in the tomb of Panehsy (TA6),⁴¹ and then in those of Meryre i (TA4), Huya (TA1), and Meryre ii.⁴² It is possible that the employment of -Re names for the youngest two girls may reflect their birth after the adoption of the later Aten cartouches, which are more centered on Re than the earlier ones. All three are likely to have been born during Years 8 through 11.⁴³

A pair of blocks found at Ashmunein and clearly deriving from a monument at Amarna bear caption texts from what had once been a depiction of a princess facing a King's Son Tutankhuaten (fig. 104).⁴⁴ Although some have doubted that the latter was indeed a son of Akhenaten,⁴⁵ the context makes it difficult to doubt that both individuals once depicted were Akhenaten's offspring. There has been much debate over the maternity of the prince, who went on to become king as Tutankhaten/amun, with Nefertiti perhaps the most likely.⁴⁶

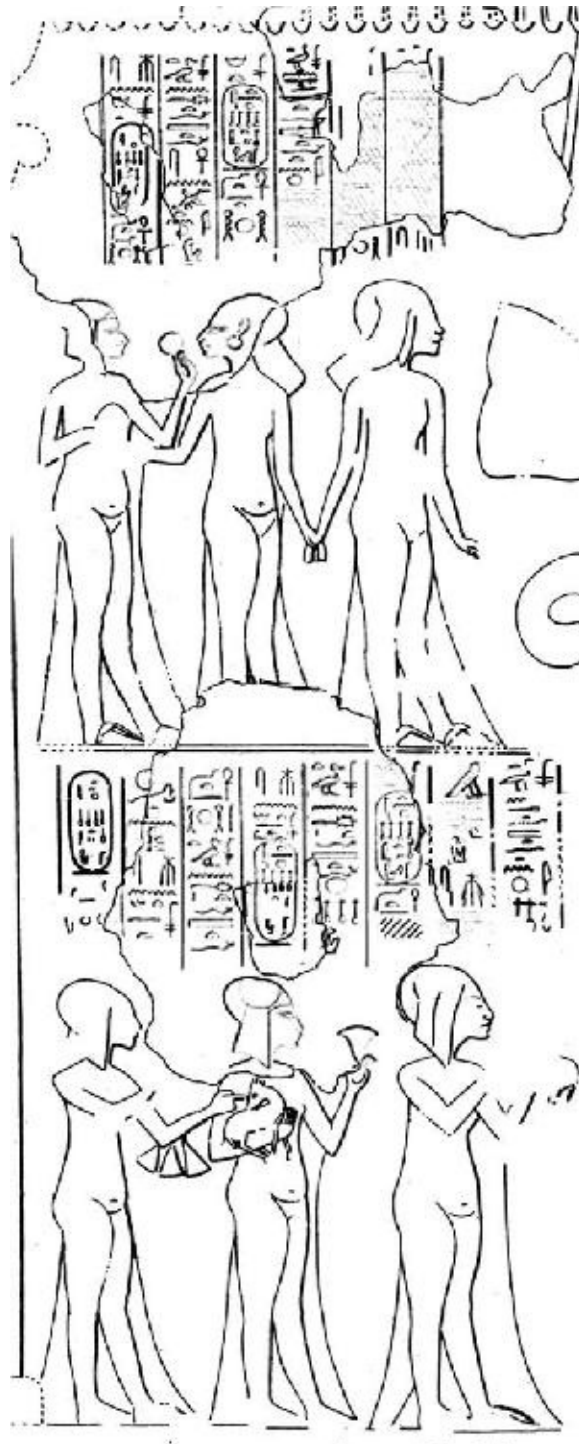


Fig. 103. The six daughters of Akhenaten as depicted at the Year 12 *durbar* scene in the tomb-chapel of Meryre ii (TA2).

Besides Nefertiti, one other definite wife of Akhenaten is known, the aforementioned Kiya.⁴⁷ This lady presents a number of issues, not the least of which is the fact that she bears what seems to be a unique title, Greatly Beloved

Wife (*ḥmt-mrrty-ʿ3t*),⁴⁸ which is always found as part of a much longer string, explicitly linking her with Akhenaten.⁴⁹ Her origins are completely obscure, although her unique title and a name that appears to be an informal version of something else has contributed to suggestions that she might be the Mitannian princess Tadukhepa.⁵⁰

The vast majority of Kiya's monuments were expropriated for Meryetaten, whose name and titles were cut over those of Kiya, while the shapes of the heads of Kiya's two-dimensional images were recut to show the distinctive extended skull of representations of Akhenaten's daughters (e.g., fig. 105). This includes the decoration of the Maru-Aten temple complex (see p. 116)⁵¹ and canopic jars later reused for the burial of an Amarna king in Valley of the Kings tomb KV55.⁵² This suggests that Kiya fell into disgrace⁵³ at some time after Year 11, when she is named on a wine-jar docket,⁵⁴ and probably after Year 12.⁵⁵ Her 'fall' must, however, have occurred before Meryetaten was elevated to the status of a King's Great Wife later in Akhenaten's reign, an event probably to be dated some time in Years 13/14.⁵⁶

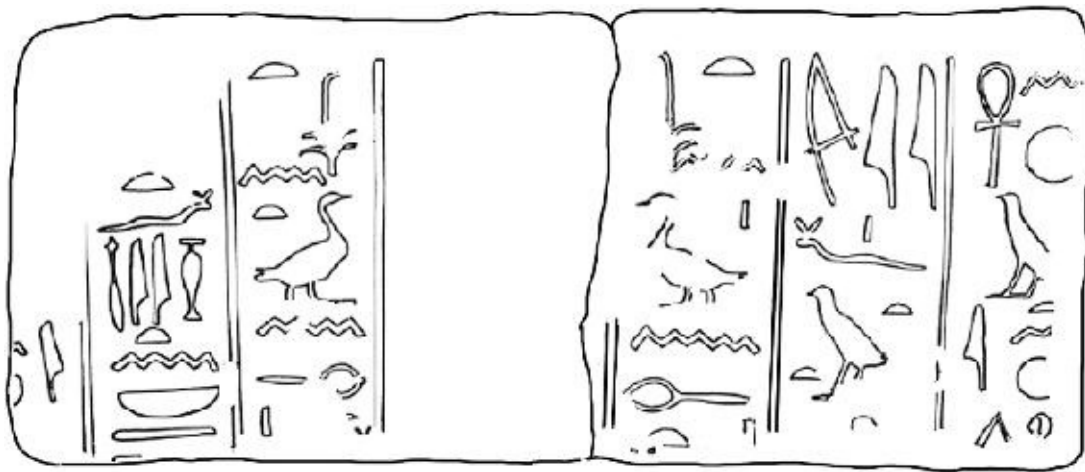


Fig. 104. Pair of blocks bearing the names of Prince Tutankhuaten and a princess (Ashmunein SCA magazine).

Kiya was certainly of sufficient standing to appear alongside Akhenaten in temple scenes surviving in the form of *talatat* from Ashmunein. She is there shown in the company of a daughter⁵⁷ whose name seems to survive nowhere,⁵⁸ and the presence of but one daughter might be diagnostic of her presence where no label text exists, given that Nefertiti is normally shown with at least two in Amarna contexts.⁵⁹ However, in all known cases her image and its label texts were later reworked, not only in the name of Meryetaten but also for

Ankhesenpaaten. In doing so, Kiya's daughter's names and title strings have been replaced by new ones citing daughters of both Meryetaten and Ankhesenpaaten, named Meryetaten-tasherit⁶⁰ and Ankhesenpaaten-tasherit.⁶¹



Fig. 105. Relief of Kiya, reworked for Meryetaten (Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 1775).

This has given rise to significant controversy, centering on whether the latter two girls were real, whether they were indeed offspring of Meryetaten and Ankhesenpaaten, and if so who their fathers were, or whether they were ‘phantoms’ conjured up to facilitate the reworking of the texts of Kiya and her daughter.⁶² Although the present writer has in the past proposed that Meryetaten-tasherit and Ankhesenpaaten-tasherit might actually have been children of Meryetaten when queen,⁶³ close study of the extant Ashmunein material⁶⁴ makes it difficult to doubt that they are explicitly stated there to be the offspring of Meryetaten and Ankhesenpaaten, respectively, a statement that one has no clear objective basis for undermining. Although one could argue that they were their foster children, Meryetaten-tasherit and Ankhesenpaaten-tasherit actually being the offspring of the disgraced Kiya, the reworkings are not simply direct replacements of Kiya's name or title string with those of Meryetaten or Ankhesenpaaten, but a recarving of the majority of the texts, including the explicit statements that the two ‘-tasherits’ were *ms n* (‘born of’) their eponymous princess.

Although one could conceivably argue that the stereotyped genealogical formula was simply being followed slavishly, this would probably represent unwarranted sophistry. Thus, taking the inscriptions as they were left, it seems difficult to doubt that Akhenaten was the father of his daughters' children,

although as Meryetaten was later Smenkhkare's queen, it is conceivable that the latter could have been father of her child, born prior to their elevation to coregency (for which see pp. 143–44). Ankhesenpaaten of course was later the queen of Tutankhaten, but since the latter appears to have been no more than ten years old at his accession, there seems no possibility of his being the father of Ankhesenpaaten's child.⁶⁵

Since Ankhesenpaaten would seem to have been born no earlier than Year 6 (see p. 111), and will have been unlikely to have been able to bear a child until the age of ten, the reworking of the reliefs to name her cannot be dated any earlier than Year 16 or even 17—the very end of Akhenaten's reign. It is, however, possible that Kiya's names could have been erased rather earlier and only reinscribed after the births of Meryetaten-tasherit and—perhaps a significant period later—Ankhesenpaaten-tasherit. It should also be noted that some of the Ankhesenpaaten and Ankhesenpaaten-tasherit texts seem to be original, pointing to the buildings involved being perhaps the very latest ones erected at Amarna.

The scenes preserved in the Ashmunein blocks seem to preserve very few depictions of Nefertiti. In the past it has been argued that she “disappeared”—either as disgraced,⁶⁶ dead,⁶⁷ or transmogrified into a female king⁶⁸—soon after what was long her last dated attestation in Year 12 (see pp. 140–41). However, a graffito naming her as queen in Year 16 has now come to light,⁶⁹ indicating that she was indeed still active as Great Wife on III *ꜥḥt* 15 in Year 16 of her husband's reign. It would therefore seem that her absence from the buildings—apparently a series of chapels—represented by the Ashmunein blocks has no chronological significance and that the decision to represent Kiya as Akhenaten's consort on them was based on some criterion that cannot be discerned on the basis of available data.

Evidence for the occupants of key governmental posts under Akhenaten comes primarily from the private tombs at Amarna. It has already been noted that the southern vizier Ramose served until at least the introduction of the revolutionary art style (see pp. 74, 101), while the northern vizier Aperel was certainly in office for some of the reign (see p. 47). At Amarna there is the house (K50.1)⁷⁰ and the tomb-chapel (TA12)⁷¹ of a vizier Nakhtpaaten, presumably Ramose's successor in Upper Egypt;⁷² both tomb and house lay in the southern part of the site. Other administrators included the Treasurer Satau (TA19),⁷³ the mayor of the city Nefer-kheperuhirsekheper (TA13),⁷⁴ and the chancellor Ahmose xxi

(TA3).⁷⁵

A significant number of senior military and paramilitary officers are attested among tomb owners, including the police chief Mahu (TA9),⁷⁶ the generals Ay (TA25),⁷⁷ Paatenemheb (TA24),⁷⁸ May xxi (TA14),⁷⁹ and Ramose xxi (TA11),⁸⁰ and the Standard-Bearer Suti xxi (TA15).⁸¹ The importance of the military at Amarna is also shown by the frequent appearance of soldiers in tomb-chapel reliefs (e.g., fig. 94). The centrality of the royal family to the life of Amarna is underlined by the number of tomb-chapels belonging to members of the royal household, including the cupbearer Parennefer (TA7—who had moved from Thebes),⁸² the chamberlain Tutu (TA8),⁸³ the Steward Ipy (TA10),⁸⁴ and the Stewards of queens Tiye and Nefertiti, Huya and Meryre ii (TA1 and 2).⁸⁵

The final known group of functionaries were those attached to the Aten cult, the First Servants Pentju and Panehsy (TA5 and 6)⁸⁶ and the Greatest of Seers (high priest), Meryre i (TA4).⁸⁷ It is possible that the latter might have been identical with the high priest of the Aten of the same name who had a tomb at Saqqara and whose career spanned the whole reign and ended under Tutankhamun or even later (overleaf).

The distribution of Aten sanctuaries outside Thebes and Amarna remains somewhat problematic, particularly owing to the potentiality for wide later distribution of *talatat* blocks by virtue of their size. As an existing center of sun worship, the presence of an Aten sanctuary might be expected at Heliopolis, and *talatat* and other material naming Akhenaten have indeed come to light there.⁸⁸ Further blocks were reused in the mosque of el-Hakim in Cairo, but it is unclear whether they originated at Heliopolis or at Memphis, where over a dozen Amarna-style blocks, together with statuary fragments, have been noted. Combined with textual references, these make it fairly clear that there was indeed a Memphite Aten temple.⁸⁹ It has been suggested that this most likely lay at Kom el-Qala, southeast of the Ptah temple at Kom Fakhry.

The high priest of this temple would appear to have been a man who began his tomb at Saqqara (H9) in the name of Meryneith, changed it to Meryre, and then back again to Meryneith, presumably after Akhenaten's death. It is not impossible that he translated to Amarna as the high priest there (Meryre i) and later returned to Memphis, but this cannot be proved.⁹⁰

A number of blocks have come to light at both Asyut⁹¹ and Akhmim,⁹² perhaps too far from Amarna or Luxor to be 'strays'—especially as those from Akhmim are much larger than conventional *talatat*. The close links between the

latter site and Akhenaten's maternal family would also support the existence of an Aten foundation there. In Nubia, while yet Amenhotep IV, the king had founded one, if not both, temples at the site of Sesebi (see p. 100). At Amada, a kiosk (later usurped by Sethy I) was erected to the southwest of the Thutmoside temple,⁹³ and in the far south a temple was constructed at Kerma–Dukki Gel (fig. 106).⁹⁴ From the form of the Aten name used, the structure—built from *talatat*—can be dated to the earlier part of the reign; like the Amada structure, it was usurped by Sethy I, and later reconstructed under Rameses III. Intriguingly, the site of Kawa, some fifty kilometers to the south, was anciently named *Gm-p3-'Itn* (later *Pr-gm-'Itn*),⁹⁵ but the earliest extant structure there dates to the time of Tutankhamun.⁹⁶ Finally, in the Nubian city of Amun, at Gebel Barkal, it now seems clear that the main Amun temple itself (B500—fig. 25) was entirely rebuilt⁹⁷ by Akhenaten (presumably as an Aten sanctuary), with a series of six subsidiary chapels apparently erected along the front of the holy mountain.⁹⁸ At B500, this work formed the basis of the building's later evolution as Amun's principal shrine there. In spite of this building work in Nubia, stelae⁹⁹ record a southern campaign in (probably) Year 12 against a place named as “Ikayta” carried out by the viceroy Thutmose xxii.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 106. Blocks from a temple of the reign of Akhenaten from Dukki Gel (Kerma Museum).

The foreign policy of the period subsequent to the move to Amarna seems to have represented a continuation of what took place before, although, as noted in the previous chapter, precise placement of the key data—the Amarna Letters—is often problematic. The information derived from correspondence can also be supplemented by material remains, with remains of some six hundred Mycenaean vessels found in the Central City at Amarna.¹⁰¹ Although it unfortunately remains unclear what commodities were once contained in them—olive oil has been suggested¹⁰²—it seems clear that the close (trading and/or

other) relations between the Mycenaean and Egyptian courts that may be detected under Amenhotep III (see pp. 77–78) were continued.¹⁰³

As previously noted, no correspondence seems to survive from Tushratta of Mitanni after the first few years of Akhenaten's reign. It is unclear whether this is a result of a definitive rupture in Egypto-Mitannian relations (whether for reasons of policy or Mitannian difficulties owing to Hittite aggression [see p. 104]), or whether relevant letters simply do not survive. If the latter, there arises the issue of whether this is merely a matter of preservation, or whether the letters had been removed elsewhere when Amarna ceased to be the Egyptian capital. The latter option seems rather more likely in that very little correspondence attributable to the latter part of Akhenaten's reign is known from the Amarna corpus, while much of what is known actually comes from the decade preceding the occupation of the city. This would suggest that it was chancellery practice to keep ten or so years' back correspondence at hand—and that the abandonment of Amarna provided an opportunity to dump now-obsolete letters by burying them under the floor of the House of Correspondence.¹⁰⁴

Among material that should probably be dated beyond the earliest years of Akhenaten's reign is a pair of letters from Assyria seeking Egypt's recognition.¹⁰⁵ One of the letters from Burnaburiash of Babylon¹⁰⁶ urges Akhenaten to send Assyrian envoys away unseen, as he regards Assyria as his vassal who should not communicate with foreign powers without his permission. However, the Assyrian monarch Assur-uballit clearly felt that his position was such that he could seek to re-establish his country among the great powers. Thus, his first letter to Akhenaten notes the lack of previous contact for some generations, but that he was now sending a messenger, with a chariot and team as a gift. He asks that the messenger be allowed to return rapidly once he had met the king and undertaken an inspection tour. A further letter¹⁰⁷ from Assur-uballit, clearly written a significant time later, indicates that Akhenaten had ignored Babylonian concerns, as not only does the Assyrian confidently call himself a "great king" and the pharaoh "brother," but also notes that he had received a delegation from Egypt and recalls his joy at their arrival. On the other hand, Assur-uballit queries the quality of the gifts sent with them, quoting the aphorism that gold was "as dust" in Egypt (cf. p. 79), noting the superior value of gifts sent by Amenhotep III to Mitanni and by some earlier Egyptian king to the Assyrian king Assur-nadin-akhkhe,¹⁰⁸ and like all his other contemporaries demanding "much gold." Combined with Babylonian and Mitannian complaints at Akhenaten's stinginess, it does appear that Akhenaten was attempting to run

an economical foreign policy. Assur-uballit also complains that his messengers were “made to stay constantly out in the sun ... and made to die in the sun”: was this another policy—to ‘honor’ guests by submitting them to the Aten’s embrace?

It is possible that at least one Babylonian letter¹⁰⁹ might be placed late in the reign if the mention of princess Meryetaten (“Mayati”) reflects her emergence as the mother of a child or elevation to Great Wife, rather than her birth as suggested above (see p. 103). However, the content of the letter fits rather better with it being grouped with the other Babylonian correspondence than as an isolated survivor from the latter years of Akhenaten’s reign.¹¹⁰

As discussed on page 81, the relationships between Egypt and its Syrian and Palestinian vassals are also difficult to pin down chronologically. In particular, various events in the southern part of the area could be dated two decades apart, depending on how one reads a hieratic label on one text. However, it seems likely that the later set of events concerning Rib-Addi of Byblos should probably be placed no later than the middle years of Akhenaten’s reign.



Fig. 107. Akhenaten leads his mother Tiye to the temple. Amarna, tomb of Huya (TA1).

Rib-Addi was the author of the largest single group of letters to the Egyptian king. He was constantly demanding military aid against rivals whom he also

denounced as traitors to the pharaoh. That this was never granted has been used at one extreme to argue for a pacifist policy on the part of Akhenaten, and at the other to interpret this result as deriving from an Egyptian assessment that the danger to their interests was marginal and that Rib-Addi was simply trying to make use of the Egyptians for his personal vendettas.

Rather, Egyptian policy seems to have been to refrain from intervening in disputes between their vassals, and acquiescing to forced changes of rule, provided that the territory in question continued to owe allegiance to Egypt. Thus, when much of Rib-Addi's territory was seized by Aziru of Amurru (son and successor of Abdi-Ashirta, who had been murdered), and Rib-Addi deposed by his own brother, Aziru is rebuked not so much for his conquests but for handing over the fugitive Rib-Addi to his enemies.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, Aziru was summoned to Egypt to report personally on his actions, and after some delays came and did so.¹¹²

On the other hand, Hittite expansion was clearly a genuine problem in the northern Syrian sphere but, as previously noted (see p. 81), the correlation of the activities of the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma I with other material presents significant issues. However, substantive problems between Egypt and Hatti seem not to have crystallized until the time of Akhenaten's successors, when a direct conflict erupted that was not finally extinguished until the reign of Rameses II.¹¹³

The dowager queen Tiye seems to have lived into the second decade of her son's reign, being depicted a number of times with her son and his family, plus Baketaten,¹¹⁴ in the tomb-chapel of her steward, Huya (TA1—fig. 107), a sepulcher that also contains a scene bearing an explicit date in Year 12 (see just below). It is presumably from this stage in her career that a well-known wooden head derives (fig. 108),¹¹⁵ one of a number of pieces that seem to mark a transition from the revolutionary Amarna style to a 'mature' variant, which replaces the distortions of the former with a more naturalistic approach, while still retaining the wider physiognomological elements. Major sources of provenanced material of this style are Amarna houses P47.2 (the sculptor Thutmose—fig. 109),¹¹⁶ O47.16a, and O47.20,¹¹⁷ from which derive some of the most famous items of sculpture of the reign (fig. 110). Other items stylistically from the same group are also known (e.g., fig. 111).



Fig. 108. Head of a wooden statuette of Tiye. Apparently from Gurob (Berlin ÄM 21834+17852).



Fig. 109. View of part of the Main City at Amarna, with the house of the sculptor Thutmose (P47.2) on the left.



Fig. 110. Three iconic images of the Mature Amarna style from workshop contexts at Amarna. From the left: plaster study of Akhenaten; painted limestone and plaster bust of Nefertiti (Berlin ÄM21351 and 21300, from Amarna P47.2); unfinished quartzite head of Nefertiti from a composite statue (Cairo JE59286, from Amarna O47.16a).



Fig. 111. Fragment of yellow stone seated dyad depicting Akhenaten in the mature Amarna style (Louvre N.831).

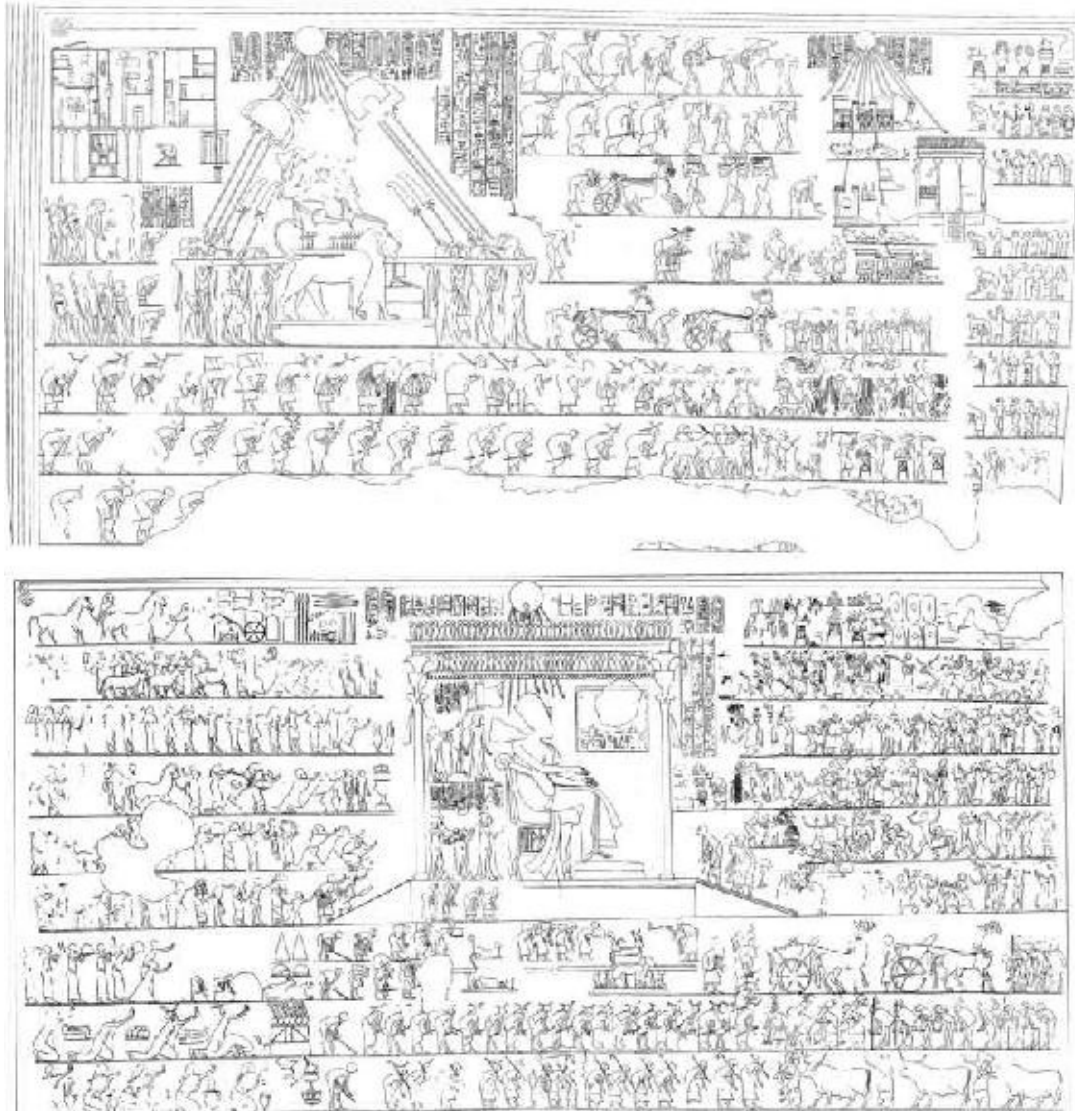


Fig. 112. Scenes of foreign tribute being presented to the royal family in the tomb-chapels of Huya (TA1) and Meryre ii (TA2).

The depictions of Tiye in TA1 formed part of a decorative scheme that also included one of a pair of tableaux that are the only dated examples of decoration in any Amarna tomb—and the only firmly dated formal events of the whole reign, apart from the city foundation ceremonies memorialized in the Boundary Stelae. The tableaux—one in TA1 and one in the neighboring TA2—both show episodes from Year 12, II *prt* 8, when the king and queen “appeared on the great carrying chair of gold to receive the tribute of Kharu (Syria–Palestine: cf. map 2) and Kush (Nubia), the West, and the East” (fig. 112). The significance of this event—often dubbed the *durbar*—remains unclear,¹¹⁸ but its explicit dating and prominent placement in two tombs suggests that it was regarded as something of

great importance, perhaps as the peak of the regime's achievements—perhaps even the formal completion of the principal buildings at Amarna.¹¹⁹ However, five years later Akhenaten was dead and his religion of the sun moving toward eclipse.

FROM ZENITH TO SUNSET

By all appearances, the Year 12 *durbar* was intended to be a celebration of the triumph of the new order. But five years later, Akhenaten and many of his family were dead, and three years after that, we find Amun's cult once again functioning, with the new pharaoh soon to issue a decree that provided for the wholesale restoration of everything laid waste by Akhenaten's revolution.¹ Explanations for this collapse have been varied, but an intriguing suggestion makes the *durbar* itself the source of the seeds of disaster by bringing into Egypt a plague whose victims included key members of the royal family. Certainly one of the king's daughters, Meketaten, died soon after Year 12 and was provided with a decorated burial chamber in the royal tomb. Two scenes recording two further deaths, squeezed into a free space in an adjacent chamber, probably refer to the unexpected deaths of two more daughters (fig. 95). Perhaps less unexpected will have been the queen mother Tiye's death and funeral in the main burial chamber of the sepulcher.²

That times were unusual is further suggested by the appointment of two successive co-regents, neither of whom was the king's eldest son, the usual candidate for such a role.³ Their order and identity has been the subject of long-standing debate, but it now seems clear that one was a man, Smenkhkare, who married Akhenaten's eldest daughter, Meryetaten, while the other, Neferneferuaten, was a woman.

The best evidence for their relative order seems to be that a representation of Smenkhkare in tomb TA2 (Meryre ii—fig. 113) would appear to have been carved as part of the same phase of decoration as the depiction of the Year 12

durbar. Since it would seem unlikely that the carving of the latter will have been carved more than a few months after the event in question, Smenkhkare's period of corule cannot have started much later than Year 13/14. In contrast, Neferneferuaten lived to see at least the first stages of a rapprochement with Amun, as evidenced by a graffito dated to her reign, a reign that may have seen her pass from being Akhenaten's co-ruler to sharing the throne of his successor, Tutankhaten.

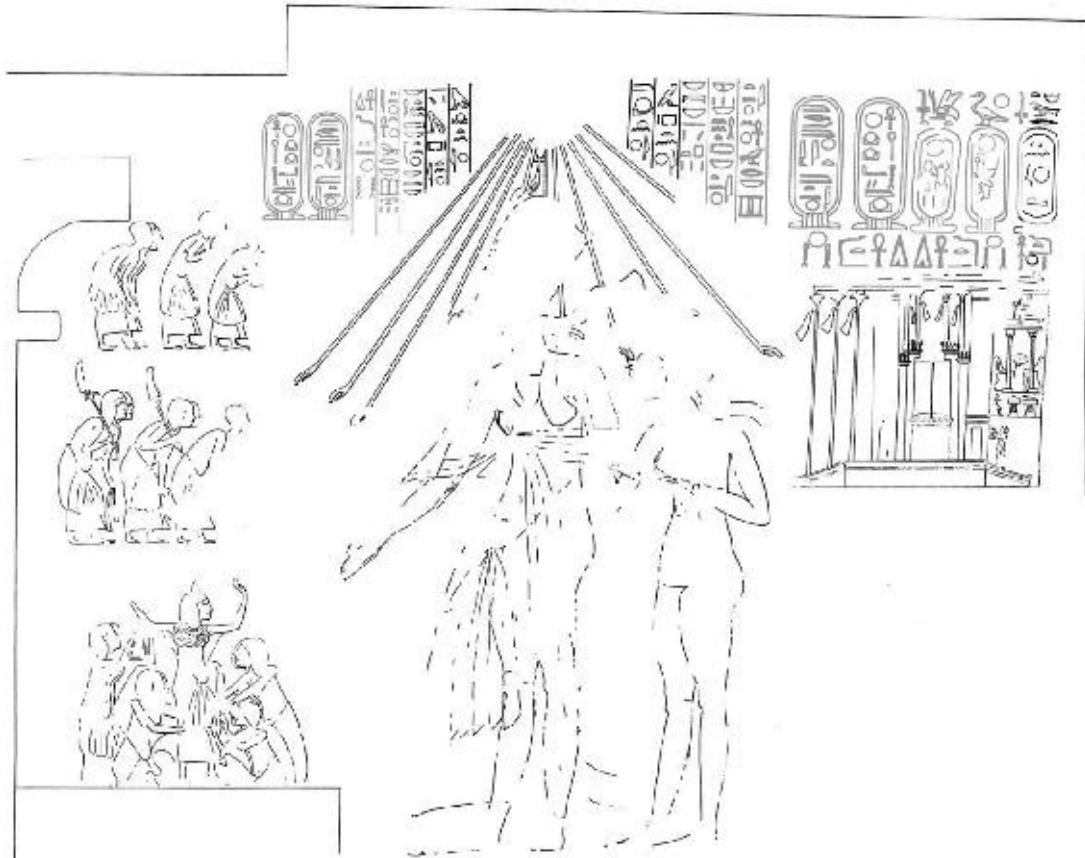


Fig. 113. Unfinished relief showing Smenkhkare and Meryetaten rewarding Meryre ii (TA2). The location of this relief within the tomb-chapel is a key piece of data regarding the king's chronological position.

Smenkhkare's background is problematic. It is possible that his skeleton survives (cf. pp. 165–67), and if correctly identified shows him to have been a close relation of Tutankhamun, as potentially the latter's paternal uncle. In this case, Smenkhkare could be seen as a younger brother of Akhenaten, perhaps appointed, as the king's eldest adult relative, as the protector of Tutankhaten in the event of Akhenaten's death before Tutankhaten's majority.

Thus, it seems most likely that Smenkhkare was appointed soon after Year 12, and was then replaced, presumably after his premature demise, by

Neferneferuaten, who then spanned the transition between the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhaten. As for the origins of this co-ruler, by far the most straightforward candidate is Nefertiti, who had borne the full name Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti since Year 5 and had approached kingly status while still King's Great Wife. Other suggestions have been her daughters Meryetaten and Neferneferuaten-tasherit, but the former's candidacy is fatally undermined by appearing alongside Neferneferuaten on one occasion in the same inscription, while the fact that the latter could have been at the most ten years old at the time of Neferneferuaten's appointment, with two elder sisters still living, makes her a very unlikely candidate. If prompted by a need for an effective deputy in a time of crisis and a guardian for a young crown prince, Nefertiti would have been an obvious appointee for Akhenaten to have chosen.

Given that Nefertiti is still attested as Great Wife in Year 16 (see p. 133), her replacement of Smenkhkare as fully fledged co-regent—either directly or after a hiatus—would thus have fallen during the last year of Akhenaten's reign. That she had, however, acquired kingly trappings before receiving a prenomen is indicated by the existence of an unfinished stela where two kingly figures—one clearly female—are shown, but with only three cartouches, as applicable to a king and a queen (fig. 114). A fragmentary stela⁴ that later had the single cartouche of Nefertiti replaced by the twin cartouches of Neferneferuaten may also have shown Nefertiti in kingly garb, given that nowhere else do any of her queenly representations show any indication of the 'updating' of her names on her transition to kingship. Accordingly, it may have been that while Nefertiti's status was enhanced to that of quasi-king directly following Smenkhkare's death, her formal elevation came somewhat later, perhaps at the onset of something perceived as a final breakdown of her husband's health.



Fig. 114. Unfinished stela of Pay showing two kingly figures in an affectionate pose. The left figure appears to be female, to judge from the shape of the breast. The presence of only three cartouches indicates that the latter was still only a queen when the piece was laid out. From Amarna (Berlin ÄM17813).

As has already been discussed (see pp. 127–28), it seems most likely that the full-scale persecution of Amun and the remainder of the Theban triad took place late in the reign, and thus against the backdrop of this period of crisis and, indeed, may have been the last significant act of Akhenaten's reign. The king's last year, 17, is recorded on a fragment of amphora with a Year 1 written over it,

confirming a transition of reigns during Year 17. There has been some debate as to whether this immediate successor was his young son Tutankhaten (married now to his sister Ankhesenpaaten), or the later of Akhenaten's two co-rulers— noted above as being most probably Nefer-neferuaten. A Year 3 associated with the latter survives (fig. 115),⁵ which could indicate an independent reign of at least this length, or alternatively that she could have acted as Tutankhaten's co-ruler and shared his regnal count during the first years following Akhenaten's death—perhaps the better solution.

In either case, this Year 3 text includes references to a functioning Amun cult, indicating that a retreat from monotheism was already well underway within a short time of Akhenaten's demise. Indeed, a stela of Tutankhaten from Amarna shows him making offerings to Amun and Mut (fig. 116). On the other hand, both Neferneferuaten and Tutankhaten retained their Atenist names during this period, and it may be that the first post-Akhenaten years attempted to 'triangulate' between the old cults and Atenism, much as seems to have been the case under Amenhotep III, when the Aten was a significant royal deity, yet functioned alongside the rest of the pantheon.

Nevertheless, this solution appears to have been short-lived as—apparently in Year 4—Tutankhaten and his wife Ankhesenpaaten had their names changed to versions substituting Amun for the Aten, with a decree for the restoration of sanctuaries damaged under Akhenaten's proscription issued and published on a stela at Karnak. Neferneferuaten also disappears from view, with much of her funerary equipment reworked for the ultimate burial of Tutankhamun.⁶

The young king's new protectors were two soldiers, the veteran Ay and a new man, Horemheb. The latter held the formal title of King's Deputy, but Ay's position of power is made explicit by a number of temple reliefs in which he is shown standing behind Tutankhamun in a pose only easily paralleled by the later Chancellor Bay, the 'king-maker' of the last years of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁷

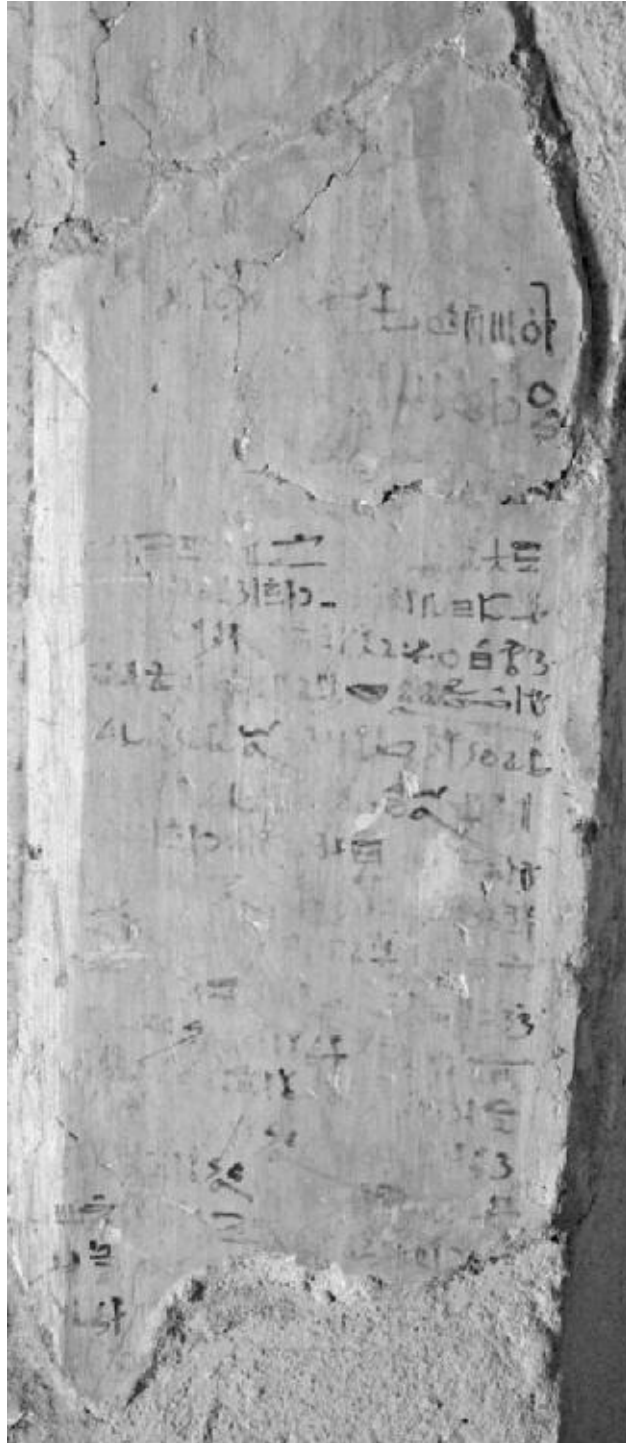


Fig. 115. Graffito dated to Year 3 of Neferneferuaten in the tomb of Pairi (TT139), as it was in 2009, with the lower sixteen lines missing.

This change of regime seems to have been marked by a new program regarding the traditional cults, enshrined in the so-called Restoration Stela at Karnak.⁸ This includes a direction for the manufacture of new divine statues to

replace those destroyed by Akhenaten, and as a result a significant number of such images bearing the features of Tutankhamun survive today. As regards building works, the decoration of the Great Colonnade at Luxor, paused at Amenhotep III's death, was resumed and some work carried out at Karnak.⁹ However, it is unclear whether various blocks from a building of Tutankhamun found reused at Karnak come from a building there, or whether they derive from a memorial temple at Thebes-West—as seems to be the case of some later blocks naming Horemheb that were reused during the Twentieth Dynasty in the Khonsu temple.

Although nowhere stated explicitly, Year 4 probably marked the end of Akhet-Aten as a royal city. Two unfinished tombs in the Royal Wadi—TA29 and 27—are likely to have been intended respectively for Neferneferuaten and Tutankhaten. The early termination of the latter sepulcher indicates, however, that the royal necropolis soon switched back to Thebes-West, where Tutankhamun is generally assumed (albeit with minimal evidence) to have begun tomb WV23 in the Western Valley of the Kings, the branch of the wadi in which Amenhotep III had been buried.

The principal royal residence may have now become Memphis, to judge in particular by the significant number of high-status private tomb-chapels that were now built at Saqqara; in parallel, we find few late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-chapels at Thebes-West, again suggesting a shift in the political gravity northward. It is unclear how these events impacted the Aten cult itself. That it may have persisted for some time at Amarna is suggested by the presence in the Great Temple there of fragments dating to the reign of Horemheb.¹⁰



Fig. 116. Stela showing Tutankhaten offering to Amun and Mut. From Amarna (Berlin ÄM14197).

However, at Karnak it is clear that the dismantling of parts of the Aten sanctuaries there had begun under Tutankhamun,¹¹ with full demolition undertaken during the reign of Horemheb (see pp. 95–96). Theologically, the Aten seems to have simply rolled back into Re-Horakhty and the word ‘Aten’ become once again no more than a word for the physical sun. His now-disused sanctuaries thus suffered the normal fate of obsolete structures in Egypt—dismantlement for the benefit of new construction projects.

The reign of Tutankhamun lasted for a decade. The king’s death has been the subject of various theories, all unproven, although some have suggested that a broken leg revealed by CT examination could have been antemortem and, through infection, the cause of death.¹² DNA work has also identified malaria, which, if correctly isolated, could have contributed to the king’s demise.¹³ It seems most likely that it was the death of Tutankhamun that was followed by correspondence between the dowager queen and the king of the Hittites that resulted in the death, en route to Egypt, of a Hittite prince—although arguments have been put forward for the king in question actually being Akhenaten.¹⁴ The conflict that followed these events resulted in Egyptian prisoners carrying plague into Hatti, which devastated Hittite society, its victims including the king

himself.

Tutankhamun was actually buried in a small tomb in the central, lowest, part of the main Valley of the Kings (KV62), rather than WV23 (fig. 117). It is likely at the same time that a similar nearby tomb, KV55, was opened, the contents partly removed, and the remainder mutilated.¹⁵ As left, it held a king's mummy in the reused coffin of Kiya, her reused canopic jars, the magic bricks of Akhenaten, and a funerary shrine of Tiye, besides various other minor items. A wide range of scenarios have been put forward to explain the contents and history of the tomb, in particular the identity of the mummy, opinion being split between Akhenaten and Smenkhkare. One still-attractive option sees KV55 as originally a reburial of Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, and Tiye, removed from TA26 once the decision had been taken that Amarna would no longer be the royal residence.¹⁶ With the death of Tutankhamun—and thus the disappearance of any royal protection for the remains of his 'heretic' relatives—a decision may have been made to destroy Akhenaten's body and deprive Smenkhkare's of its identity (following the arguments for making the body that remained in the tomb until modern times the remains of the latter). At the same time Tiye's body will have been removed, perhaps to Amenhotep III's tomb.¹⁷



Fig. 117. The northeast corner of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun, showing the Opening of the Mouth of Tutankhamun by Ay.



Fig. 118. Horemheb, as depicted offering to Amun on the gate of Pylon X at Karnak.

With the death of Tutankhamun the royal line ended, with the throne passing to Ay. All indications are that he continued the policies of the preceding reign—not surprisingly, given his position during much of it. There is some indication of a power struggle between Ay and his erstwhile colleague Horemheb, and after Ay's death and the latter's accession an attack was made on the memory of Ay, including the mutilation of the images in his tomb.¹⁸ As king, Horemheb (fig. 118) has often been credited with the final destruction of the remains of the edifice constructed by Akhenaten although, as noted above, part at least of the

Great Temple at Amarna seems to have still been functioning during at least part of his reign. Nevertheless, his reuse of blocks from Akhenaten's temples at Karnak and Amarna in his own constructions at Karnak and Ashmunein indicates that many buildings were now being demolished and that any Atenist survivals were by now only residual at best.



Fig. 119. The temples at Abu Simbel: the ultimate evocation of the Egyptian royal family.

However, while the traditional cults were now restored, religious life had not wholly returned to the status quo ante. This can be seen most clearly in the funerary domain, in which the decoration of tomb-chapels fails to reinstate the scenes of 'daily life' that had been the mainstay of their adornment from the early Old Kingdom down to their abolition by Akhenaten.¹⁹ Rather, the emphasis is on the funeral and the next world, as invoked by scenes derived from the Book of the Dead. Some chapels include scenes of the dead person's career, but this is by no means universal. Thus the Amarna episode clearly had a lasting effect on this key aspect of the Egyptian belief system, and is likely to have done so in other less easily detectable ways as well.

The status of the royal family was also impacted in that the extensive depictions of the royal family at Amarna were mirrored and extended by the kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Thus, many of the temples erected or extended

by Rameses II were adorned with long processions of his sons and daughters, the king also being accompanied by his sons in a number of his battle scenes. All these depictions were by virtue of the individuals' affiliation with the king, not their functional roles, thus setting aside the last traces of the pre-Amarna decorum regarding royal children. Indeed, this effective creation of a wider royal family than that hitherto publicly recognized could be argued to have contributed to the strife between rival claimants to the throne during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Dynasties.²⁰ Perhaps the most monumental post-Amarna evocation of a divine royal family is to be seen at Abu Simbel (fig. 119), where the temples focus on Rameses II, one of his then two great wives, Nefertiry, and the children they had together. In this the king and queen were closely linked respectively with Re-Horakhty and Hathor—an echo of the Nubian deifications of Amenhotep III and Tiye.²¹



Fig. 120. Private stela of Kay, with the deified Amenhotep III and Tiye shown with Osiris and Isis in the top register. Probably from Thebes (BM EA834).

In parallel with this, however, the Amarna episode was being written out of history. While Amenhotep III and Tiye remained canonical figures and were suitable persons to receive homage (fig. 120), the chronologically arranged royal

offering lists ('king lists') in the Abydene temples of Sethy I and Rameses II jump from Amenhotep III to Horemheb, while in a legal text of Rameses II's reign, the regnal years of Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Ay are implicitly added into the reign of Horemheb, giving the latter a reign of six decades.²² In this, Akhenaten himself is referred to obliquely as "that criminal of Akhet-Aten." Interestingly, however, some recollection remained down to the time of the Ptolemaic Period historian Manetho, as his Eighteenth Dynasty, although horribly corrupt, includes individuals who can only be Amarna rulers—including even Neferneferuaten, who must be the prototype of "Akenkheres"/"Akherres"/"Akhenkheres," "daughter" of "Orus."²³ Nevertheless, in comparison with some kings who continued to be revered into Greco-Roman times, Akhenaten and his immediate successors had been effectively forgotten before the end of ancient Egyptian history—apparently consigned to the outer darkness forever. It would not be until the nineteenth century ad that Akhenaten and his family would first emerge from the shadows on the way to becoming global superstars.²⁴

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Outline Chronology of Ancient Egypt

LE = Lower Egypt only; UE = Upper Egypt.

All New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period dates are based on the scheme set out in Dodson 2012; in any case, all are more or less conjectural prior to 690 BC.

Parentheses indicate a co-ruler.

EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

Dynasty 1	3050–2810 BC
Dynasty 2	2810–2660

OLD KINGDOM

Dynasty 3	2660–2600
Dynasty 4	2600–2470
Dynasty 5	2470–2360
Dynasty 6	2360–2195

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Dynasties 7/8	2195–2160
Dynasties 9/10 (LE)	2160–2040
Dynasty 11a (UE)	2160–2065

MIDDLE KINGDOM

Dynasty 11b	2065–1994
Dynasty 12	1994–1780
Dynasty 13	1780–1650

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Dynasty 14 (LE)	1700–1650
Dynasty 15 (LE)	1650–1535
Dynasty 16 (UE)	1650–1590
Dynasty 17 (UE)	1585–1540
Ahmose the Elder	
Taa	
Kamose	–1540

NEW KINGDOM

Dynasty 18	
Ahmose I	1540–1516
Amenhotep I	1516–1496
Thutmose I	1496–1481
Thutmose II	1481–1468
Thutmose III	1468–1415
(Hatshepsut	1462–1447)
Amenhotep II	1415–1386
Thutmose IV	1386–1377
Amenhotep III	1377–1337
Akhenaten	1337–1321
(Smenkhkare	1325–1323)
(Neferneferuaten	1322–1319)
Tutankhamun	1321–1312
Ay	1312–1308
Horemheb	1308–1278
Dynasty 19	
Rameses I	1278–1276
Sethy I	1276–1265
Rameses II	1265–1200
Merenptah	1200–1190
Sethy II	1190–1185
(Amenmeses	1189–1186)
Siptah	1186–1178
Tawosret	1178–1176
Dynasty 20	1176–1078

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Dynasty 21	1078–941
Dynasty 22	943–736
Dynasty 23	736–666
Dynasty 24	734–721
Dynasty 25	754–656

SAITE PERIOD

Dynasty 26	664–525
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LATE PERIOD

Dynasty 27	525–404
Dynasty 28	404–399
Dynasty 29	399–380
Dynasty 30	380–342
Dynasty 31	342–332

HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Dynasty of Macedonia	332–310
Dynasty of Ptolemy	310–30

ROMAN PERIOD

30 BC–AD 395

Appendix 2

Relative Chronology of Egyptian and Foreign Kings during the Fourteenth Century BC

MC	Egypt	Mitanni	Hatti	Babylon	Assyria	MC
1364	Amenhotep I 22				Nur-Adad I 1	1364
1363						1363
1362						1362
1361						1361
1360						1360
1359						1359
1358						1358
1357						1357
1356						1356
1355						1355
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1328						1328
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1322						1322
1321						1321
1320						1320
1319						1319
1318						1318
1317						1317
1316						1316
1315						1315
1314						1314
1313						1313
1312						1312
1311						1311
1310						1310
1309						1309
1308						1308
1307						1307

Appendix 3

Royal Names of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty

Key

H. = Horus (𩉱)name

Nb. = Nebti (𩉱𩉱)name

G. = Golden Falcon (𩉱) name

P. = Prenomen (𩉱𩉱 / 𩉱𩉱)

N. = Nomen (𩉱𩉱 / 𩉱𩉱)

Amenhotep II

H. 𩉱𩉱𩉱
Nb. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
G. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
P. 𩉱𩉱𩉱
Na. 𩉱𩉱𩉱
Nb. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
Nc. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
Nd. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
Ne. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱

k³-nh̄t q³i-šwti

wsr-nsyt-m-Ḳpt-swt

wts-ḥ^cw-m-Ḳwnw-šm^cy

nfr-ḥprw-R^c w^c-n-R^c

Ḳmn-ḥtp

Ḳmn-ḥtp ḥq³-Ḳwnw

Ḳmn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥq³-Ḳwnw

Ḳmn-ḥtp ḥq³-W³st

Ḳmn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥq³-W³st

Thutmose IV

H. 𩉱𩉱𩉱
Nb. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
G. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱
P. 𩉱𩉱𩉱
N. 𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱𩉱

k³-nh̄t twt-ḥ^cw

ḏd-nsyt-mi-itm

wsr-ḥpš dr pḏwt 9






mn-ḥprw-r^c

ḏḥwty-ms-ḥ^c-ḥ^cw

Amenhotep III

H.		<i>ḥ^c-nḥt ḥ^c-m-m³t</i>
Nb.		<i>smn-hpw-sgrḥ-t³wy</i>
G.		<i>ḥ³-ḥpš-ḥwi-sttyw</i>
P.		<i>nb-m³t-r^c</i>
N.		<i>Imn-ḥtp ḥq³-W³st</i>

Amenhotep IV

H.		<i>k³-nḥt q³i-šwti</i>
Nb.		<i>wsr-nsyt-m-lpt-swt</i>
G.		<i>wṯs-ḥ^cw-m-Iwnw-šm^cy</i>
P.		<i>nfr-hprw-R^c w^c-n-R^c</i>
N.		<i>Imn-ḥtp ntr-ḥq³-W³st ḥ³ m ḥ^c.f</i>

Akhenaten

H.		<i>mry-ṯtn</i>
Nb.		<i>wsr-nsyt-m-ḥt-ṯtn</i>
G.		<i>wṯs-rn-n-ṯtn</i>
P.		<i>nfr-hprw-R^c w^c-n-R^c</i>
N.		<i>ḥ³-n-ṯtn</i>

Smenkhkare

P.		<i>ḥ^cnḥ-hprw-R^c</i>
N.		<i>smnḥ-k³-R^c dsr-hprw</i>

Neferneferuaten

Appendix 4

The Genealogy of the Eighteenth Dynasty

The royal line of the Eighteenth Dynasty may be traced back to a King's Mother Tetisherit, whom Ahmose I calls the "mother of his mother" and "mother of his father," as well as King's Great Wife, on the great stela from her cenotaph pyramid at Abydos.¹ Her husband is never mentioned—although chronologically he is likely to have been Ahmose the Elder—but her son was Taa, by whose sister Ahhotep I² he became the father of Ahmose I and his wife, Ahmes-Nefertiry. Their son Amenhotep I is frequently shown with his mother on later monuments, while his sister-wife has been identified as Meryetamun B on the basis of the form of her coffins³ and the confirmation of the dating of her tomb (TT358) prior to the time of Hatshepsut.⁴

The paternity of Amenhotep I's successor, Thutmose I, has long been in question. There is no question that his mother was one Senisonbe,⁵ but she was not a King's Wife, bearing simply the title of King's Mother. He may have been a descendant of an earlier king,⁶ or his only direct link with the royal house may have been his marriage with the King's Daughter Mutneferet A.⁷ The latter was perhaps an offspring of Ahmose I, given the lack of any known children of Amenhotep I. Thutmose I also espoused a King's Sister Ahmes B, a lady whose affiliations remain uncertain, depending on whether her title applied to her husband or one of his predecessors.⁸ In favor of the former is the fact that she never carries the title of King's Daughter, which one would have expected if the second option were the case—as was definitely the case with the king's other wife, Mutneferet.

It is clear from various sources that Thutmose had a son, Thutmose II, with Mutneferet, and two daughters, Hatshepsut and Neferubity, with Ahmes.⁹ The maternity of two further sons, Amenmose¹⁰ and Wadjmose,¹¹ is unknown. The marriage between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut is well attested, as are their daughter Neferure and the birth of Thutmose III to a certain Iset A and Thutmose II. It remains unclear whether Thutmose III married his half-sister, Neferure, but

some evidence may point in this direction.¹² Three definite wives, Meryetre-Hatshepsut, Sitiah, and Nebtu, are shown on a pillar in the king's tomb, a scene which also includes a daughter, Nefertiry B.¹³ It is possible that Sitiah, the earlier of the great wives, may have been the mother of Thutmose III's first heir, Amenemhat B.¹⁴ Three lesser wives named Menwi, Merti, and Menhet are known from their joint tomb.¹⁵ Meryetre-Hatshepsut was almost certainly the daughter of the Adoratrix Huy¹⁶ and was also the mother of the king's ultimate successor, Amenhotep II, she being mentioned on a number of monuments after his accession. His family and those of his successors are discussed in the main body of the text.

These various relationships have been determined on the basis of monumental data, some of which remains ambiguous. However, the development of techniques to recover genetic information from ancient bodies has promised not only to resolve some of these issues, but also to verify the identities of a number of mummies that had on occasion been suggested as belonging to particular members of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. The results of just such an investigation of human remains dated to the Amarna Period were published in 2010,¹⁷ but immediately were subject to significant controversy.

The first—and clearly most fundamental—issue was the very scientific validity of the study. There is a strand of scientific thought that denies the survival of viable DNA remains beyond a few centuries, by which point they require the reconstruction of sequences from fragmentary survivals. There is thus a possibility that all that is being studied is modern contamination of the fragments.¹⁸ Such systemic skepticism may be supported by a second area of concern, that a number of the study's other conclusions sit uncomfortably with the archaeological contexts of some of the specimens involved.

Of the bodies involved, only three had unimpeachable pedigrees: those of Tutankhamun, Yuya, and Tjuiu,¹⁹ all found in their own coffins, in their own tombs. Of the remainder, only one had a name attached to it—a body labeled as that of Amenhotep III by the reburial commissioners of the late Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties (fig. 121, left),²⁰ whose identity has been questioned on a number of grounds over the years.²¹ The body from tomb KV55 (fig. 121, right) has been the subject of debate since its moment of discovery (cf. pp. 149–50), although it has long been clear that its owner was a close relative of Tutankhamun on gross physical grounds, supported by seriological studies,²² and was all but certainly that of a king. The other mummies comprised: two

fetuses found in Tutankhamun's tomb;²³ two female mummies found in a side room of KV35 (fig. 122);²⁴ two more found in KV21;²⁵ three mummies found in TT320 (an unknown man sometimes called "Thutmose I");²⁶ the mummy anciently labeled as Thutmose II²⁷ and one found in the coffin of Ahmes-Nefertiry;²⁸ and two women found in KV60 (the royal nurse Sitre-In and one controversially identified as Hatshepsut).²⁹ The last seven bodies were originally all included as a control—although for some reason no body of provably significantly earlier or later date and unconnected with the royal family was used to provide a 'true' control.



Fig. 121. Heads of the mummy identified as Amenhotep III and the skeleton from tomb KV55, identified variously as Akhenaten and Smenkhkare (Cairo CG61074–75).

This fact is a matter for concern, as the DNA results could be interpreted as indicating that one of the “control” KV21 mummies was the mother of the KV62 fetuses and thus potentially Ankhesenamun.³⁰ Nothing about this tomb gives any indication that it had been the resting place of a queen of the late Eighteenth Dynasty; indeed the pottery found in the tomb is of the type typical of the early-to-middle part of the dynasty. The only *prima facie* argument for a royal status of

any occupant has been the size of the tomb and the flexed position of the left arm of at least one of the bodies. This has been speculatively proposed as being a marker for a royal woman—but it is depicted on various private coffins and mummy boards of the immediate post-Amarna era,³¹ suggesting that it may simply be a generic New Kingdom ‘female’ pose.³² The archaeological context of the KV21 mummies thus undermines one’s confidence in the results of the DNA work.

Similar archaeological concerns arise with the bodies from KV35, the so-called “Elder Woman” (CG61070) and “Younger Woman” (CG61072). The mummies in question are two of three found in a different side room of the tomb from that containing reburied royal mummies—including that labeled as Amenhotep III. Unlike the latter group, all rewrapped and equipped with substitute containers, these three lay devoid of wrapping or any trace of a coffin. This could suggest that they had not been brought into the tomb as part of the mummy-caching process, but had formed part of the original deposit under Amenhotep II, thus being potentially members of his family, along with a pair of skulls found in the well shaft of the tomb, and a mummy found dumped on one of the model boats in the tomb (cf. p. 11).

Nonetheless, one (CG61070) had been posited on occasion as a candidate for Hatshepsut³³ before being identified as Queen Tiye on the basis of a comparison of her hair with a lock of hair found in a coffinette bearing the queen’s name in KV62,³⁴ leaving aside the archaeological issues noted above.³⁵

A third concern is that—assuming that the two previous areas of concern are left to one side—the results were published giving only the ‘preferred’ interpretation of the raw data. Thus, for example, the KV55 remains were confidently identified as those of Akhenaten, without noting that the genetic data applicable to him (as a son of Amenhotep III and the father of Tutankhamun) would also apply to any full brother of Akhenaten (and thus paternal uncle of Tutankhamun), as full siblings would share a DNA makeup. This subjective presentation seems to have spilled over into the interpretation of parallel CAT studies of the KV55 body. The age at death of the body is crucial, as to be Akhenaten it would have had to have been at the very least thirty years old at the time of death, and probably somewhat older.³⁶



Fig. 122. The mummies from KV35 identified by the DNA studies as Tiye (left) and the mother of Tutankhamun (right) (Cairo CG61070 and 61072).

Studies carried out since its discovery in 1907 have been split between those assessing death as having taken place in the early twenties (the vast majority)³⁷ and those placing it in the thirties or forties.³⁸ The new CAT scans³⁹ allegedly supported the older aging, but brought forth an immediate rebuttal arguing for an age between eighteen and twenty-three years.⁴⁰ In this connection, it is important to highlight doubts as to the applicability of the aging criteria applied to premodern human remains raised by studies carried out on over a thousand sets of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ad human remains recovered from the crypts of Christ Church, Spitalfields, in London.⁴¹ Of these, nearly half were of individuals whose age at death was indicated by coffin plates. The studies, comparing documented age at death with ‘blind’ aging of the remains by anatomists, concluded that “there was a systematic error which depended on the age of the individual, those under 40 being over-aged, those over 70 being under-aged.... Less than 30% of the sample were correctly aged—i.e. to within five years of the real age; but 50% were assessed to within ten years, and three-quarters to within fifteen years of the correct age.”⁴² Among cases of under-aging, individuals who were known certainly to have died in their late eighties, or their nineties, appeared according to the anatomical criteria employed to be in their sixties, or in one case late fifties. As far as the KV55 body is concerned, more apposite are the cases of over-aging of younger persons, including one teenager who was apparently in her mid-thirties!⁴³ This is very much supportive of those studies that have placed the KV55 body at the lowest end of the age

spectrum, and may even suggest that this minimum age could be lowered even further.

On the basis of the above, the likelihood that the KV55 skeleton represents Akhenaten seems low,⁴⁴ with the greater likelihood that it was that of a full brother. Smenkhkare would thus be the most probable candidate. Genetically, he could have been Tutankhamun's father, but as Tutankhamun was around eighteen years old at death, he will thus have been born around Year 10 of Akhenaten. Smenkhkare's death has been argued as having occurred around Year 14/15, thus placing Tutankhamun's birth around Smenkhkare's sixteenth year. However, Smenkhkare's wife, Meryetaten, can have been only nine at the most at that time, and thus physically unlikely to have borne a child—leaving aside the total lack of any evidence for her being married this early.⁴⁵ One could of course posit an unknown first wife who perhaps died giving birth to Tutankhamun, but there is no objective evidence for the existence of such a lady. Thus, the view that Akhenaten was Tutankhamun's father remains by far the most attractive on both historical and genetic grounds.

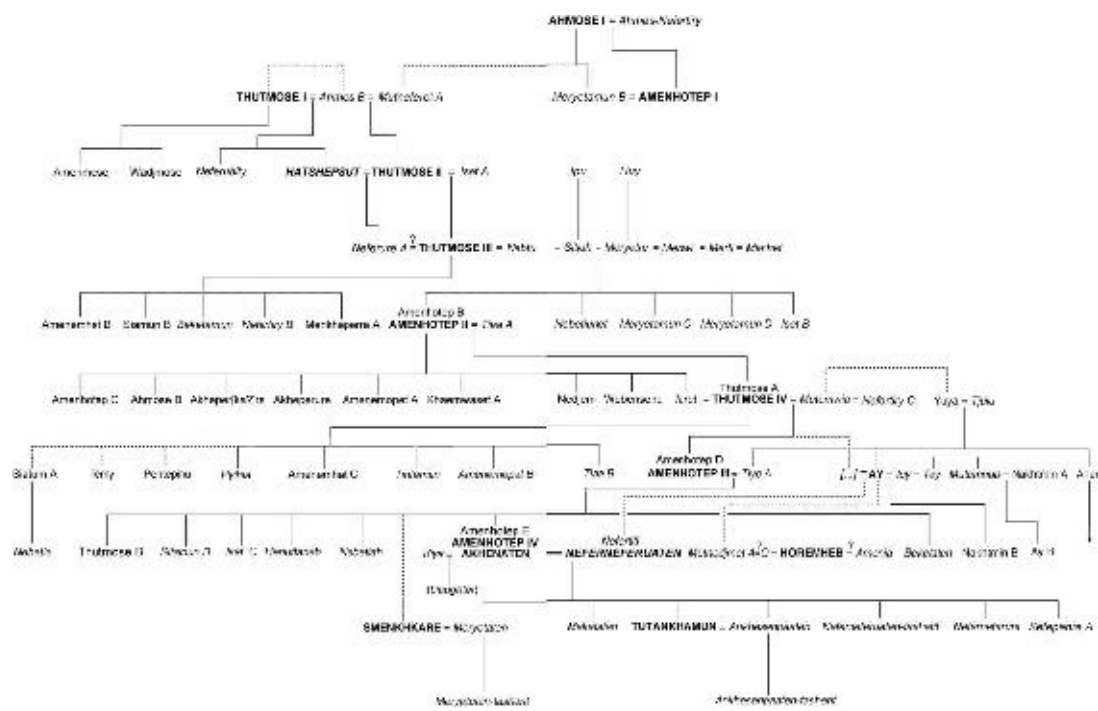
A further conclusion of the DNA study—again presented in the publication without discussion—was that Tutankhamun was the product of a brother–sister marriage, with his mother the “Younger Lady.” Leaving aside the archaeological issues surrounding this mummy noted above, this creates a hitherto unknown sister–wife of Akhenaten. Since neither Nefertiti nor Kiya bears any of the titles that would indicate that either had been a sibling–spouse, we are confronted by the apparent existence of a wife who is mentioned nowhere on the surviving monuments. Now, while we have many gaps in the list of Egyptian queens—in particular the situation during the reign of Amenhotep II—the quantity of material from Akhenaten's reign, particularly at Amarna, makes the idea of there having been a third wife difficult to accept—particularly one whose lineage would have made her a particularly distinguished individual. One could of course argue that she had lived away from Amarna and died young, perhaps in childbirth, within a short time of her marriage, but the situation still remains uncomfortable.

On the other hand,⁴⁶ the same genetic result would be the outcome of three generations of first-cousin marriages. As noted above, it has long been suggested that Mutemwia and Yuya might have been siblings, while Ay as the father of Nefertiti is also a long-standing speculation—with Nefertiti as a perfectly reasonable candidate for Tutankhamun's mother (see p. 130). The only novelty would be the further genetic requirement that would make Ay's wife and

Nefertiti's mother a sister of Amenhotep III—certainly less of an issue than positing an otherwise unattested sister-wife of Akhenaten.

That difficult, yet resolvable, outcomes can be derived from considering the raw outputs from the DNA studies must, of course, undermine the concerns regarding the validity of the entire study and the apparent mismatch between the interpretation of archaeological data and that of the DNA data. The absence of the analyses of true (i.e., indisputably significantly earlier or later, non-royal) control specimens nevertheless produces a degree of uneasiness.⁴⁷ Thus, there must remain a degree of skepticism regarding the conclusions to be drawn from these studies pending further verification of the raw data and, in particular, exploration of the full range of potential conclusions that could be drawn from this.

Tentative Genealogy of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty



SOURCES OF FIGURES

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8. Adapted from De Morgan et al. 1894: 69[5], 70[19], 90[87], 102 [228].
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58. Martin Davies.
60. Salima Ikram.
61. Lepsius 1849–59: III, pl. 83.
62. Lepsius 1849–59: III, pl. 85–86.
65. Lepsius 1849–59: III, pl. 82[i].
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71. Davies 1903–1908: VI, pl. iv.
72. Lepsius 1849–59: III, pl. 110[k].
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95. G.T. Martin 1989: pl. 63, 58.
99. N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, pl. xxviii–xxx.
103. N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: II, pl. xxxiv, xxxviii; Lepsius 1849–59: pl. 99b.
104. After Roeder 1969: pl. cv[56–VIII A], cvi[831–VIII C].
107. Dyan Hilton.
112. N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: III, pl. xiii–xv, xxxvii.
113. After N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: II, pl. xli, with texts restored after Lepsius 1849–59: pl. 99a; 1897: II, 138; and Moseley 2009: 144, fig. 7.8.
116. Erman 1900: 113.
120. Trustees of the British Museum.
121. left: G.E. Smith 1912: pl. xxxv; right: Martin Davies.
122. G.E. Smith 1912: pl. xcvii, xcix.

NOTES

Notes to Introduction

- 1 Cf. Miniaci 2011: 12–14.
- 2 Winlock 1947: 104–109; Ryholt 1997: 151.
- 3 Blocks Cairo JE30392 and JE29238 (Ryholt 1997: 135–36, 384[15/4.16], 386[15/5.7]). On the dating of Khyan, see now Moeller and Marouard 2011.
- 4 W.V. Davies 2003; 2005: 49–50.
- 5 Cf. Parlebas 1975, with Jacquet-Gordon 1999: 179 n. 1. He was formerly given the ordinal number ‘II,’ but in 2012 the discovery of a lintel at Karnak (Biston-Moulin 2012) showed that a king with the prenomen Senakhtenre, long regarded as having also had the nomen Taa (‘I’—cf. Winlock 1924: 243–45), actually had the nomen Ahmose (to be dubbed ‘the Elder,’ given the long-standing use of the ordinals ‘I’ and ‘II’ for Nebpehtyre and Khnumibre).
- 6 Cairo CG61051 (G.E. Smith 1912: 1–6).
- 7 Bietak and Strouhal 1974.
- 8 pBM EA10185 [pSallier], *ro*, I/1–III/3 (Ryholt 1997: 387[15/5.27]).
- 9 Writing tablet Cairo JE41790 [Carnarvon Tablet I]: 5–6 (Ryholt 1997: 399[17/9.21]); cf., however, Ryholt 1997: 177–78.
- 10 Ryholt 1997: 172–74, based on the narrative preserved in Cairo JE41790 and Karnak stelae Cairo TR 11/1/35/1 and Luxor J.43 (Ryholt 1997: 399[17/9.6–7]).
- 11 For chronology and sources, see Vandersleyen 1971.

- 12 Ryholt 1997: 181–83; Spalinger 2006: 344–47.
- 13 To judge from the Euphrates being stated to be the northern limit of Egyptian power in Year 2 of Thutmose I (Tombos stela—Sethe 1906–1909: 85, l.13–14).
- 14 El-Kab autobiographies of Ahmose-son-of-Ibana and Ahmose-Pennekhbet (Sethe 1906–1909: 6–8, 36).
- 15 See appendix 4.
- 16 Spalinger 2006: 349; for Kurgus, see Porter and Moss 1952: 233 and W.V. Davies 2000.
- 17 Autobiographies of Ahmose-son-of-Ibana and Ahmose-Pennekhbet.
- 18 His highest unequivocal date is in Year 4 (naos of the King’s Son Amenmose—Louvre E.8074—Porter and Moss 1974–81: 46; C.M. Zivie 1976: 52–55); for putative Years 8 and 9, based on an enigmatic block at Karnak, cf. Wente and Van Siclen 1976: 225–26; von Beckerath 1994: 110–12.
- 19 Year 1 stela on the Aswan–Philae road (Sethe 1906–1909: 139; cf. Spalinger 2006: 350).
- 20 Cf. Dorman 2006: 60 n. 12. A Year 18 is associated with his name on a now-lost fragmentary statuette (Daressy 1900: 99), but it is not impossible that this is a case of Thutmose II’s name having been substituted for that of Hatshepsut (von Beckerath 1990: 66). For other grounds for a longer reign, cf. Wente and Van Siclen 1976: 226, Dorman 1988: 67 n. 4, and von Beckerath 1990. Other scholars have argued for a much shorter reign of no more than half a decade (e.g., L. Gabolde 1987, arguing for three years).
- 21 Dorman 1988: 18–45.
- 22 Dorman 2006: 49–58.
- 23 Spalinger 2006: 354.
- 24 Meeks 2003.
- 25 Palermo 1028 [Palermo Stone] v.IV.1 (T. Wilkinson 2000: 168–70).
- 26 Cf. Dorman 2006: 58.
- 27 Dorman 1988: 46–68; for an earlier dating, see Meyer 1989: 119–26.
- 28 Cf. Roth 2005.
- 29 Redford 2003; 2006.
- 30 Text at Sehel (Porter and Moss 1937: 251[91]; Sethe 1906–1909: 814–15[222]).
- 31 Laskowski 2006.
- 32 MFA 23.733 (Helck 1955–58: 1227–43; Leprohon 1991; cf. Manuelian

2006: 413–15).

- 33 See Dorman 1988: 78–79 for the possibility that Thutmose may have previously espoused his half-sister Neferure.
- 34 Gauthier 1912: 272–73[LXVIB].
- 35 Gauthier 1912: 273–74[LXVIC].
- 36 Helck 1955–58: 1262[371].
- 37 See appendix 3.
- 38 Depicted in TT109 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 227[5]) and possibly TT143 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 255[5]).
- 39 See Manuelian 1987: 1–40, 57–58; 2006: 416–22.
- 40 Autobiography of Amenemheb in TT85 (Sethe 1906–1909: 895[268]; Porter and Moss 1960–64: 172[17]).
- 41 Stela MFA 25.632 of Usersatet (Helck 1955–58: 1343[390]; Leprohon 1991:160–63).
- 42 In particular, Amenhotep II having two expeditions tagged as the “First Campaign of Victory” (cf. p. 10), plus certain issues with the two king’s lunar dates (Manuelian 1987: 32–39, 1–19; 2006: 421–22).
- 43 Porter and Moss 1952: 65–73; El-Achirie et al. 1967.
- 44 Manuelian 1987: 23–32.
- 45 Cf. Manuelian 1987: 39–40.

Notes to Chapter One

- 1 His Great Sphinx stela appears to state that he was eighteen years old when he became king—whether as a sole ruler or as a co-regent (Helck 1955–58: 1279, l. 8–10).
- 2 Stelae at Amada and from Elephantine [Cairo CG34019 + Vienna AS 141] (Porter and Moss 1952: 70–71[49]; 1937: 229; Helck 1955–58: 1287–99; Manuelian 1987: 47–56).
- 3 Stelae in front of Pylon VIII at Karnak and from Memphis [Cairo JE86763] (Porter and Moss 1972: 177[R]; 1974–81: 846–47; Helck 1955–58: 1299–1309[375, A]; Manuelian 1987: 56–78, 221–29; Goedicke 1992a). Depictions survive from Karnak (Cairo JE36360) of the aftermath of some Syro-Palestinian campaign or other of Amenhotep II, but it is not possible to determine which (Helck 1955–58: 1368[407]; Zayed 1985).
- 4 The principal exception being Gardiner (1947: I, 150*–52*[258]), who places Takhsy to the north of Qadesh (cf. Manuelian 1987: 51–52).

- 5 Something also done to the body of an enemy of Thutmose I (Sethe 1906–1909: 9, l.5).
- 6 Cf. Manuelian 1987: 62.
- 7 All but certainly not Ugarit (*j-ka-rj-ty*—cf. Manuelian 1987: 63–64).
- 8 On the history of Egypto-Mitannian relations during the Eighteenth Dynasty, see Bryan 2000.
- 9 On the issues surrounding this, see the discussions cited in Introduction, n. 42.
- 10 For this interpretation of the relevant passage on the king’s Memphis stela, see Manuelian 1987: 72–73, 225–26.
- 11 Presented in Amenhotep II’s Memphis stela as “begging for peace ... that the breath of life might be sent to them.”
- 12 Cf. Manuelian 1987: 77–78.
- 13 Lyon, Musée Guimet, perhaps from Koptos (Helck 1955–58: 1317–18 [378]). A fragment of a stela from Khirbet el-Oriemeh in Galilee (Porter and Moss 1952: 382; Helck 1955–58: 1347[393]) has sometimes been attributed to Amenhotep II, but on insufficient grounds (cf. Manuelian 1987: 90–92).
- 14 Manuelian 1987: 78, 233–42.
- 15 Cf. Manuelian 1987: 190–213.
- 16 Luxor J.129 (Porter and Moss 1972: 79[k]).
- 17 TT72 and possibly TT143 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 142[4], 255[5]).
- 18 TT109 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 227[5]; Manuelian 1987: 200–202).
- 19 Stela Cairo JE67377 (Helck 1955–58: 1245[366]; Manuelian 1987: 209 n. 160).
- 20 Manuelian 1987: 192–99.
- 21 Cf. Manuelian 1987: 210–13.
- 22 Bryan 1991: 93–108.
- 23 Bryan 1991: 98–99.
- 24 Cairo CG923 (Porter and Moss 1972: 260).
- 25 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 128–29; Bryan 1991: 41, fig. 5a–b.
- 26 CG5031, 24269–24273, 61007 (Daressy 1902: 244–45, 103–104; Smith 1912: 39–40).
- 27 CG638 (Porter and Moss 1972: 283; Bryan 1991: 46–48).
- 28 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 327; Habachi 1969.
- 29 Porter and Moss 1937: 255.
- 30 pBM EA10056 (Redford 1965: 107–10; further references in Bryan 1991: 49–50).

- 31 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 44.
- 32 Cartouches were only ever used for kings until the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, when we find Amenemhat III’s daughter Neferuptah granted one—potentially as female heir to the throne as a precursor to the reign of the female king Sobekneferu (cf. Ryholt 1997: 210; Dodson 2000b). Cartouches then become increasingly usual for kings’ wives during the Second Intermediate Period and then normal from the New Kingdom onward. A few royal sons and daughters also employ cartouches around this time, but only a few Eighteenth Dynasty princes are so honored—in particular Amenmose, son of Thutmose I (see Dodson 1990: 92). No Rameside royal sons are known to have used a cartouche, nor any others in the Third Intermediate Period save Shoshenq Q, eldest son of Osorkon I (Dodson 2009c: 60–64).
- 33 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 42.
- 34 Cairo JE20221 (Bryan 1991: 65–66).
- 35 Porter and Moss 1937: 250.
- 36 Statue Cairo CG589; stela Berlin ÄM14200 (Bryan 1991: 67–69).
- 37 Collected in Manuelian 1987: 100–69.
- 38 Manuelian 1987: 101–102[I.2].
- 39 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 206–14.
- 40 Manuelian 1987: 101[I.1], 153.
- 41 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 325; cf. Manuelian 1987: 153.
- 42 Manuelian 1987: 118–19[IV.6], 160–62.
- 43 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 197–203. His wife, Senetnay (not Sennefer himself, *pace* Manuelian 1987: 153, 160), was, however, buried in the Valley of the Kings, probably by virtue of her role as Royal Nurse. Various items of her funerary equipment were found in a secondary deposit in KV42 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 586; Eaton-Krauss 1999: 122–27).
- 44 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 45–46.
- 45 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 565; Thomas 1966: 161–62; Reeves 1984: 232.
- 46 Statue Brussels E.7333 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 865).
- 47 Statue Cairo JE38336 (Porter and Moss 1972: 427); false door Leiden AM.1 (Malek 2012: 98[803-049-712]; palette Louvre N.3026 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 773).
- 48 Stelae Florence 2565 and Leiden AP.11+Petrie UC14463 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 712).
- 49 According to Dorman 1995: 148–54, the nephew and successor of Menkheperreseneb A, owner of TT86.

- 50 Manuelian 1987: 103–104[II.3]; Kampp 1996: I, 364, who argues on the basis of the location of TT97 and the usurpation of TT84 by the high priest Mery (see n. 52). On the other hand, Bryan 1991: 267 suggests that Amenemhat spanned the transition between the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, although this would mean that he would clash in office with the two Menkheperresenebs.
- 51 He was still a simple *wab* priest at the age of 54 (Helck 1955–58:1409[425]).
- 52 Manuelian 1987: 106–107[II.11]. Mery usurped TT84 from Amundjeh, who had served under Thutmose III: assuming a reasonable gap between the death of Amundjeh and the usurpation of the tomb would suggest placing Mery in the latter part of Amenhotep II’s reign (Kampp 1996: I, 332, 364).
- 53 Manuelian 1987: 107–109[II.12, 14, 17].
- 54 Manuelian 1987: 100.
- 55 To judge from the presence there of a stela of his Year 47 (MFA 23.733—Porter and Moss 1952: 217[20]).
- 56 Manuelian 1987: 110–11[III.3].
- 57 Manuelian 1987: 111[III.4], 113[III.8, 10], 116[III.12].
- 58 Now in the Nubian Museum (Porter and Moss 1952: 92[1]; Caminos 1968: 67–75).
- 59 Manuelian 1987: 254, 263.
- 60 Manuelian 1987: 256–57.
- 61 Manuelian 1987: 255, 261, 265.
- 62 Porter and Moss 1952: 65–73; Manuelian 1987: 254.
- 63 Manuelian 1987: 256.
- 64 Manuelian 1987: 263.
- 65 Gauthier 1911–27: 218, pl. 76B.
- 66 Conveniently listed by Manuelian 1987: 253–67.
- 67 Porter and Moss 1934: 60, 64.
- 68 Porter and Moss 1937: 119.
- 69 Porter and Moss 1937: 144, 149.
- 70 Sauneron 1952: 36, figure 2.
- 71 Manuelian 1987: 256—plus a pair of obelisks (Cairo CG17015 and Durham EG6789=N2049—Porter and Moss 1937: 244).
- 72 Statue JE35878 (Van Siclen 1985b).
- 73 Porter and Moss 1937: 173–74.
- 74 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 39–40, 353; C.M. Zivie 1976: 110–62.

- 75 Cf. Van Siclen 1986: 44–45; 1987a, b.
- 76 Manuelian 1987: 261.
- 77 Manuelian 1987: 258–60.
- 78 Porter and Moss 1972: 175–77.
- 79 Van Siclen 2010.
- 80 Porter and Moss 1972: 185–86.
- 81 Wine jar with docket, Petrie UC15937 (Porter and Moss 1972: 430–31; Helck 1955–58: 1365[404]).
- 82 See summary and discussion in Manuelian 1987: 42–44.
- 83 Statues Cairo CG645, CG931, and CG1117 (Porter and Moss 1972: 430; Malek 1999: 48); cf. further Hornung and Staehelin 2006: 24–25.
- 84 Hornung and Staehelin 1974: 51–65; 2006: 33–37; Hornung 2006: 10–11.
- 85 Porter and Moss 1972: 429–31; Sesana 2002–2007.
- 86 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 551–56; Piacentini and Orsenigo 2004: 53–238.
- 87 Cf. Hornung 1999a: 27–53.
- 88 Also found in Thutmose I’s KV38—probably actually constructed under Thutmose III for his reburial (Romer 1974)—and in KV42, perhaps the sepulcher originally constructed for Thutmose II (cf. Hornung 1975; Dodson 1988: 120–23; Polz 2007: 211–29).
- 89 To judge from the scarring on the walls (cf. Romer 1981: pl. opposite p. 117).
- 90 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 571–72.
- 91 pTurin 1885^{ro} (Carter and Gardiner 1917).
- 92 Cairo CG5029 (Dodson 1994: 49–52; forthcoming).
- 93 Aubert and Aubert 1974: 32–34.
- 94 The solar identification of the Great Sphinx by Thutmose IV may be significant in the evolution of solar theology during the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty; cf. pp. 34–35.
- 95 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 38, including a substantial number of votive stelae (cf. Bryan 1991: 150–55).
- 96 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 37; Helck 1955–58: 1541–43.
- 97 For example, by Bryan 1991: 72–73.
- 98 Aldred’s suggestion (1967) that Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV had been co-rulers seems unlikely in the extreme (cf. Manuelian 1987: 40–42). Cf. Kozloff 2012a: 33 for the novel suggestion that the Great Sphinx is actually meant to be Amenhotep II bestowing the throne on his youngest son.
- 99 The import in this context of the existence of a potential “divine birth”

- tableau for Thutmose IV is moot: cf pp. 23–24.
- 100 Cairo CG61073 (G.E. Smith 1912: 42–46); Giles' doubts (1970: 42–43) as to its correct identification do not seem to be particularly well founded.
- 101 Cf. Bryan 1991: 9–13, noting also the concerns on the aging of ancient skeletons on our p. 166.
- 102 Porter and Moss 1937: 254; Helck 1955–58: 1545.
- 103 See Bryan 1991: 6–9, 20–25.
- 104 Cairo CG42080 (Porter and Moss 1972: 96; Bryan 1987: 3–5).
- 105 Porter and Moss 1972: 72.
- 106 Porter and Moss 1972: 539.
- 107 Cairo CG1167 (Bryan 1991: 103).
- 108 See pp. 45–46. Multiple contemporary Great Wives were always rare, the only apparently clear examples being under Amenhotep III, Rameses II, and Rameses III (cf. Collier, Hammernik, and Dodson 2010: 246).
- 109 Eight stelae from the Sphinx complex at Giza (including Leipzig 2429, Cairo JE59461, and JE59462), a scarab from Gurob (Petrie UC12252), and a stela at Luxor temple (Bryan 1991: 109–10).
- 110 A scarab (Basle 324) and texts at Serabit el-Khadim and Konosso (Bryan 1991: 110–13).
- 111 *Pace* Bryan 1991: 113 on the potential for her being actually Thutmose IV's own daughter.
- 112 Three-dimensional pieces include a statue base (Selim 2011: 323–28) and an image of the queen in a boat (BM EA43—a rebus on her name) from the Amun temple at Karnak, a statue reused in the Mut temple there, and one from the Ramesseum (Porter and Moss 1972: 102, 446).
- 113 As seems to have been the case with Thutmose III's mother, Iset A, and, as already noted, may well have been the case with Thutmose IV's mother Tiaa.
- 114 Summarized conveniently in Bryan 1991: 114, 119.
- 115 AL 29 (Moran 1992: 93); on this letter, see also pp. 36–37.
- 116 For other diplomatic marriages of the period, see pp. 78–81. For a possible official of Thutmose IV's Mitannian bride, see van Dijk 1997: 33–35.
- 117 There is also no evidence at this period of foreign wives taking Egyptian names, although during the Nineteenth Dynasty a daughter of the king of the Hittites received the name Maahorneferure under Rameses II.
- 118 Brussels E.6858 (Bryan in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990: 85; Bryan 1991: 70–71; Malek 1999: 555[801-629-070]; Kozloff 2012a: 34–36).

- 119 Probable mummy, plus canopic jars Cairo CG46037–9 and MFA 03.1130 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 560; Dodson 1990: 94).
- 120 Shown with his tutor, the Steward Tjenena, on statuette BM EA35400 (Robins 1995: 28–29[14]).
- 121 M. Gabolde 2004.
- 122 Shown on the stela of his tutor, the Treasurer Meryre xx (Vienna AS 5814—Porter and Moss 1974–81: 706; cf. Dodson 1990: 89, 95; for Meryre, cf. p. 47); cf. n. 124, just below, for Siatum’s possible daughter.
- 123 Canopic jar fragment Cairo CG46040 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 560).
- 124 NMS A.1956.163, A.1956.159 (Dodson and Janssen 1989: 129–30[2, 4]). Another lady named on such a label, Amenemopet B (ex-Amherst Collection—Dodson and Janssen 1989: 133[16]), may well be the same as the girl shown sitting on the knee of the army officer, Horemheb xx, in his tomb (TT78). As Horemheb served under Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep III, she could have been a daughter of any of them, although Thutmose is perhaps most likely. Nothing can be said for certain of the parentage of any of the other King’s Daughters known from this group of mummy labels, found in a tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Dodson and Janssen 1989: 135–38, *pace* Bryan 1991: 123 and Kozloff 2012a: 156–57), except for Nebetia (NMS A.1956.154—Dodson and Janssen 1989: 128[1]), who is called the daughter of a King’s Son Siatum, perhaps the aforementioned putative son of Thutmose IV.
- 125 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 769.
- 126 For details of the full range of subordinate office-holders of the period see Bryan 1991: 242–331.
- 127 pMunich 809 (Spiegelberg 1928).
- 128 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 132–33; Kampp 1996: 287–89.
- 129 From whose monuments Thutmose is known: stelae RMO AP.11+Petrie UC14463 and Florence 2565 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 712; cf. Bryan 1991: 243).
- 130 See Bryan in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq 1990: 81–88 for the history of Sobekhotep and his family.
- 131 See Bryan 1991: 249–50, 254–59, 263–66.
- 132 Cf. Bryan 1991: 242.
- 133 Bryan 1991: 267–68; Amenemweskheth is only known from a Konosso graffito (De Morgan et al. 1894: 69[8]).
- 134 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 152–56; Horemheb’s status is further emphasized

- by the depiction of princess Amenemopet on his knee in his tomb (cf. n. 124).
- 135 Cf. Bryan 1991: 273–74.
 - 136 Statue CG584 (Malek 1999: 593[801-641-050]).
 - 137 Stelae Leiden AP.11 + Petrie UC14463; Florence 2565; palette Berlin ÄM3427 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 712).
 - 138 Murnane 1992.
 - 139 Bryan 1991: 275–77.
 - 140 Bryan 1991: 250–54.
 - 141 Kozloff (2012a: 47–50) suggests that he was none other than crown prince Amenhotep D, but there are no known parallels for a prince of the blood to such a post (although Kozloff also suggests [2012a: 166] that Merymose, viceroy under Amenhotep III—pp. 50–51—was also a ‘real’ king’s son); cf. Dodson 2010: 42–43.
 - 142 His principal monuments include a stela from Buhen (Ashmolean 1893.173–74—Porter and Moss 1952: 131; Helck 1955–58: 1636), two Sehel graffiti (De Morgan et al. 1894: 92[108], 103[66], and a statue from Qurnet Murai (Louvre E.14398—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 77–78 [there attributed to Amenhotep-Huy xxii, in office under Tutankhamun; but cf. Bryan 1991: 310 n. 84]).
 - 143 Konosso stela (Helck 1955–58: 1545–48; Bryan 1991: 333–36).
 - 144 Porter and Moss 1952: 215; Dunham 1970: 67–74; Kendall and Wolf 2011.
 - 145 Jacquet-Gordon et al. 1969: 110; Maystre 1967–68: 196; Bryan 1991: 204.
 - 146 H.S. Smith 1976: 139[1724]; stela Ashmolean 1893.173 (n. 142, above).
 - 147 Van Siclen 1987c; Bryan 1991: 199–203.
 - 148 Porter and Moss 1952: 351.
 - 149 Porter and Moss 1952: 345.
 - 150 Porter and Moss 1937: 225, 244; Junge 1983: 36–39; K. Martin 1977: 175.
 - 151 Gabra and Farid 1981: 184–85.
 - 152 Porter and Moss 1937: 188[4], 189[8]; cf. Bryan 1991: 196.
 - 153 Desroches Noblecourt and Leblanc 1984: 92.
 - 154 Mond and Myers 1940: 3.
 - 155 Porter and Moss 1937: 147, 149 (called Thutmose III—see Bryan 1991:166–67).
 - 156 Porter and Moss 1939: 109.
 - 157 Porter and Moss 1937: 44, 70–71.
 - 158 Bittel and Hermann 1934: 27.

- 159 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 333.
- 160 See pp. 23–25.
- 161 Porter and Moss 1934: 60; cf. p. 13 for Ahmose B as high priest there. Elements bearing Thutmose IV's names and found reused at Seriaqus and Alexandria may also be from Heliopolis (Porter and Moss 1934: 5, 58).
- 162 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 830, 842, 849, 871; Bryan 1991: 157–58[6.2].
- 163 Bryan 1991: 184–88.
- 164 Bryan 1991: 183–84.
- 165 Porter and Moss 1972: 72, corrected by Letellier 1979a–b; L. Gabolde 1993.
- 166 Yoyotte 1953: 30–38; cf. Bryan 1991: 171.
- 167 TT75 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 147[3]).
- 168 Porter and Moss 1972: 71–72; Bryan 1991: 171–74.
- 169 Porter and Moss 1972: 83; Bryan 1991: 174–75.
- 170 Bryan 1991: 175–76, 179–81.
- 171 Bryan 1991: 182.
- 172 Porter and Moss 1952: 409; Iversen 1968: 55–64; Bryan 1991: 176–79; Lazkowski 2006: 203.
- 173 Sethe 1906–1909: 584[11].
- 174 Cf. Bryan 1991: 179.
- 175 Cf. p. 23.
- 176 Giles' otherwise useful discussion of the emergence of the Aten as a deity (1970: 114–27) rather misses this point: while he quite rightly charts the increasing prominence of the Aten, he cannot demonstrate that it had a formal cult prior to the reign of Amenhotep IV (cf. ch. 2 n. 95 on the crucial matter of the misdating of the relief Berlin ÄM2072).
- 177 Tombos stela (Porter and Moss 1952: 174–75; Sethe 1906–1909: 82[32], l.2).
- 178 Statue of Minnakht (Sethe 1906–1909: 1183[348], l.9).
- 179 Interestingly, the king's Elephantine stela employs the determinative, but its Amada duplicate does not (Helck 1955–58: 1293[374]).
- 180 UPMAA E14319, stela of Amenemhat from Sedment (Petrie and Brunton 1924: pl. liii)—possibly to be dated to the earliest years of Amenhotep III.
- 181 Cf. Dégrement 2010.
- 182 BM EA65800 (Shorter 1931; 1932; Schäfer 1931; Bannister and Plenderleith 1936; Bryan 1991: 354–56).
- 183 Porter and Moss 1972: 83[215]; Helck 1955–58: 1552–55[489].
- 184 Cf. Bryan 1991: 337–39.

- 185 A block from Karnak gives Thutmose IV the epithet of one who “laid waste the fortresses of Asia” (cf. Melzer 1974), but such epithets cannot be taken at face value without corroboration.
- 186 In TT90 and 91 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 184, 187).
- 187 AL 29 (Moran 1992: 93; on the Amarna archive of letters in general, see p. 78).
- 188 Cf. Bryan 1991: 119, 337.
- 189 But cf. pp. 103–104 for the possibility of strained relationships during the latter years.
- 190 AL 1: 64–65 (Moran 1992: 2).
- 191 Plague Prayers of Murshilish II (Houwink Ten Cate 1963).
- 192 AL 51 (Moran 1992: 122); this identification assumes that the reference to “grandfathers” in the text is to be taken literally, and thus that “Manakhapiya” (Menkheperre—Thutmose III) has been written in error for “*Mankhururiya” (Menkheperure—Thutmose IV); cf. Bryan 1991: 341.
- 193 Cairo CG46097 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 560).
- 194 AL 85 (Moran 1992: 157).
- 195 Bryan 1991: 346.
- 196 Stela Petrie UC14372 (Porter and Moss 1972: 446); cf. Bryan 1991: 344–45.
- 197 See Bryan 1991: 6–9.
- 198 See Hornung and Staehelin 1974; Hornung 1991; cf. Bryan 1991: 20–23.
- 199 Porter and Moss 1972: 446–47.
- 200 Piacentini and Orsenigo 2004: 176–77, 208–209.
- 201 Now in Highclere Castle.

Notes to Chapter Two

- 1 Van Siclen 1973.
- 2 See ch. 1 n. 141.
- 3 If one were to make his mother, Mutemwia, the Mitannian princess who can only have arrived in Egypt fairly late in the reign of Thutmose IV.
- 4 Cairo CG61074 (G.E. Smith 1912: 46–51 and next note).
- 5 For example, Giles 1970: 41–42, although his further suggestion that the mummy is that of Rameses VI (also Nebmaatre, albeit with an epithet) is undermined by another mummy in the same deposit that appears unequivocally labeled as that king; J.E. Harris 1999; McAvoy 2007 (both suggesting that the mummy might actually be that of Akhenaten); but see

pp. 83–84.

- 6 Cf. Dodson 2009f; 2010: 80–82, 89. In any case, the “30:0–35:0” years given in Krogman and Baer 1980: 208–209 cannot be right for a king who reigned for four decades.
- 7 Cf. Bryan 1991: 114–18.
- 8 Porter and Moss 1972: 326–27. Some earlier scholars seized upon the fact that the only then known such sequence belonged to Hatshepsut to suggest that, like her, Amenhotep’s claim to the crown was doubtful, citing his marriage to a commoner in support, contradicting as it did the old “heiress princess” theory of Egyptian succession (cf. also n. 12). The alleged lack of parallels for ‘legitimate’ kings ignored, however, the utter destruction of the decoration of the memorial temples of most New Kingdom monarchs, where such scenes might be expected (the Luxor temple also being a particularly ‘personal’ structure—see p. 54)—and that fragments deriving from a version of Rameses II do actually survive in a secondary context (Porter and Moss 1972: 473[82]). There may also be a fragment deriving from a version of the sequence belonging to Thutmose IV (Bryan 1991: 206).
- 9 Cf. Goedicke 1992b: 3–12.
- 10 Although Kozloff 2012a: 100, 104 (following Maspero) would place their union under Thutmose IV, mainly on the basis of the lack of a date on the so-called ‘marriage scarabs,’ thus suggesting that they were actually ‘accession scarabs.’
- 11 A name with numerous orthographies, *ỉꜥꜥ*, *ỉꜥw*, *ywỉꜥ*, *ỉꜥỉw*, *ywỉꜥ*, *ỉꜥy*, *yỉw*, *ỉꜥy*, *ywỉꜥ*, *ỉỉꜥ*, and *ỉꜥy* all being found.
- 12 The king’s marriage to such a commoner was in the earlier years of Egyptology regarded as “irregular” or even “illegal,” with reference to the long-current “heiress theory” of succession (but cf. Petrie’s [1924: 183] desperate attempt to make Tiye an ‘heiress’ via an earlier marriage between an Egyptian princess and a Mitannian potentate). However, the realization that the majority of New Kingdom pharaohs had great wives from outside the royal family has long since removed such conceptions from the scholarly arena. The alleged “illegality” of Amenhotep’s marriage has also on occasion in the past been cited as perhaps the “real” reason for the execration of the memory of his son Akhenaten, rather than the usual explanation of his heresy. All of these explanations were based on now-refuted misunderstandings of Egyptian succession mechanisms, but are still

on occasion repeated in modern non-specialist works.

- 13 For a convenient summary of Yuya's titles, see Maspero in Davis 1907: xiv–xv.
- 14 Presumably accounting for the presence of a chariot among his funerary equipment.
- 15 Kozloff 2012a: 102–104 proposes Yuya to have been a Mitannian and closely linked to that state's royal house; however, she surely goes too far by suggesting that Tiye was thus able to act as an interpreter from the Hurrian language for her husband. Cf. ch. 2, n. 12, for Petrie's old view that Yuya was indeed a Mitannian, who had married the Egyptian 'heiress' princess Tjuiu.
- 16 See Jones 2000: 345[1283].
- 17 For example: Montjuhotep I (father of Inyotef I and II); Senwosret A (Amenemhat I—Habachi 1958), Montjuhotep A (Sobekhotep III), and Haankhef (Neferhotep I, Sihathor, and Sobekhotep IV—Ryholt 1997: 222–31).
- 18 A fundamental distinction missed by Berman (1998: 5).
- 19 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 562–64. On the basis of the identification of malaria DNA in their mummies (Hawass et al. 2010: 646) it has been suggested that they died of the disease at the same time (Kozloff 2012a: 116–17). However, given their considerable age at the time of death, it seems more likely that they will merely have suffered from long-standing chronic malaria. The linked proposal that their sudden death is indicated by their “poorly planned tomb, hastily carved and undecorated” is misleading. All non-kingly tombs in the Valley of the Kings (with a handful of Rameside exceptions) comprise no more than a fairly rough chamber, approached by a simple corridor or shaft—as are the substructures of the conventional combined noble tomb-chapels of the period; indeed, KV46 is actually among the better examples.
- 20 Blankenberg-van Delden 1969: 16, 21–56, 149–53; a number of further examples have been published subsequently, which is also the case for other series of scarabs mentioned later. For Amenhotep III's “commemorative” scarabs in general, cf. Baines 2003.
- 21 TT192 includes a scene of eight unnamed daughters of the king.
- 22 See pp. 144, 166–67 for the possibility that Smenkhkare may have been a third son of Amenhotep III and Tiye.
- 23 Dodson 1990; Wildung 1998.

- 24 Dodson 1999: 59–61.
- 25 Cairo CG5003 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 851); Louvre E.2749=N.792 (Malek 1999: 629[801-645-250]) and Berlin VAGM-112-97 (Freed, Markowitz, and D’Auria 1999: 205[15]).
- 26 Although one would normally have expected such material to have been made in advance, the odd situation of a crown prince—with every expectation of dying a king—may have limited preproduction in cases such as that of Thutmose.
- 27 Hayes 1951: fig. 27[KK].
- 28 Cairo JE33906 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 774). A chair made for Sitamun was found in her grandparents’ KV46 (Cairo CG51113—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 563—our fig. 34).
- 29 TA1 (Porter and Moss 1934: 211–12).
- 30 M. Gabolde 1992, seconded by van Dijk 1997: 37.
- 31 Sitamun bears the title on jar labels from Malqata (Hayes 1951: fig. 9[95]), while Iset does so on a statuette (Ortiz collection—Malek 1999: 55[800-627-850]). Sitamun is also named with the title on small items, and as a simple King’s Wife on a statue of Amenhotep-son-of-Hapu (as overseer of her estate: BM EA103, Cairo JE36498 [Porter and Moss 1972: 288, 268]).
- 32 An Overseer of the City (a title often held by viziers with reference to Thebes), Thutmose is shown adoring the prenomen of Amenhotep III in a graffito at Aswan (Porter and Moss 1937: 256[24]; cf. Bryan 1991: 305 n. 16).
- 33 Stela Lyon 88; Karnak statue fragment; *shabti* Cairo CG48406; funerary cones (Lefebvre 1929: 241–43[13]; Helck 1958: 441–42[14]).
- 34 Hapuseneb, high priest under Hatshepsut, bears the title of vizier only on one monument (cf. Lefebvre 1929: 78–79; Helck 1958: 286–87).
- 35 TT55 and funerary cones; statue fragment Bremen B617; graffiti at Biga and Sehel; Malqata dockets (Helck 1958: 302–304, 442–43[16]). He was the son of the mayor of Memphis, Heby, and brother of Amenhotep-Huy xxi, the king’s Memphite household steward.
- 36 The pair of viziers appear—on occasion titled but always unnamed—in the First Jubilee scenes at the Soleb temple (Schiff Giorgini 1998–2003: V, pl. 41, 42) and in dockets from Malqata (Hayes 1951: 100). Cf. Gordon 1990 for a suggestion that their geographical attribution should be reversed—not accepted here.
- 37 Statues Cairo CG590, BM EA1068; Silsila shrines; Malqata dockets (Helck

- 1958: 302–304, 443–44[17])
- 38 Cf. Murnane 1998: 205–206.
- 39 AL 71 (Moran 1992: 140–41); cf. Murnane 1998: 201.
- 40 A.-P. Zivie 1990; 1997.
- 41 For his stela see ch. 3 n. 168; for his tomb at Saqqara-Bubastaeon, see A.P. Zivie 1984–85: 228–29.
- 42 Hayes 1951: [100]; statue Florence 1791 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 787).
- 43 Brussels E.1103 (Porter and Moss 1972: 444; Helck 1955–58: 1885–86).
- 44 Owner of tomb K99.1 at Dra Abu'l-Naga (Polz et al. 2003: 373–74).
- 45 There seems no reason to accept D.B. Redford's speculation (1963: 240–41) that he should be identified with Ptahmose (cf. Murnane 1998: 203 n. 123)
- 46 Davies and Macadam 1957: [132]; Dibley and Lipkin 2009: 64.
- 47 See n. 43.
- 48 Simut is shown as Fourth Prophet in the tomb of Ramose, yet was Second Prophet in his own tomb (TTA24—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 454). Anen was buried in TT120 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 234; L.P. Brock 1999).
- 49 Gaballa 1970.
- 50 Cf. Murnane 1998: 208–10.
- 51 For the Memphite high priestly succession at this period, see Murnane 1992.
- 52 The Third Intermediate Period genealogy Berlin ÄM23673 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 751) allocates two otherwise unknown high priests, Wermer and Penpanebes, to the reign of Amenhotep III. However, the accuracy of this document is uncertain.
- 53 Statue Florence 1790 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 727).
- 54 To judge by his presence on Leiden AP11 + Petrie UC14463 (see ch. 1 n. 137).
- 55 See Murnane 1992: 188 n. 5.
- 56 Moursi 1972: 48–49[29].
- 57 Statue Berlin ÄM17021 (Malek 1999: 517[801-620-030]).
- 58 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 87–91.
- 59 Statue Dublin 1908.514 (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 833); cf. Murnane 1998:213.
- 60 Helck 1955–58: 368–70, 483–85[14]; Porter and Moss 1974–81: 702–703.
- 61 Helck 1955–58: 370, 485[15].
- 62 Porter and Moss 1934: 223–24.
- 63 Varille 1968; Murnane 1991; Kozloff 2012a: 65–67.
- 64 Kozloff argues for the appointment being made not long after Thutmose

IV's death (2012a: 66).

- 65 On the basis of the discovery of funerary cones on that hill; a large now decorationless tomb (TTK-396-) nearby may have been his (Bidoli 1970; Kampp 1996: 766–76). Fragments of his nest of stone coffins—including one with an unusual non-anthropoid lid (Louvre D4)—are in a number of collections (Porter and Moss 1972: 456).
- 66 Porter and Moss 1972: 455–56.
- 67 Wildung 1977a, 1977b.
- 68 Known from funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957: [580–81]; Dibley and Lipkin 2009: 176–77).
- 69 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 298–300; Epigraphic Survey 1980.
- 70 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 105–11.
- 71 Cf. Dodson and Ikram 2008: 214–17.
- 72 L.P. Brock 1999.
- 73 Although Ramose's TT55 was restored in the 1930s.
- 74 Berenguer 2003.
- 75 Cf. L. Gabolde 1995. The rear of the hill overlooked the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina and had been used for interments from that community from the earlier part of the dynasty (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 701–702).
- 76 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 436; Kampp 1996: 602; Berman 1997; Simone 2003; and Régen 2009; 2010.
- 77 A.P. Zivie 1990.
- 78 TTK-28- (Gordon 1983; Eigner 1983; Kampp 1996: 637–39).
- 79 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 702–703.
- 80 For example, that of the painters Amenemwia and Thutmose (tomb Bubasteion I.19—A.P. Zivie 2007: 66–71, 140).
- 81 Blankenberg-van Delden 1969: 16–17, 57–61.
- 82 On the other hand, Kozloff speculates whether the bulls and lions might actually be metaphorical references to slaughtering Egypt's enemies (2012a: 66).
- 83 Blankenberg-van Delden 1969: 17–18, 62–128, 153–60.
- 84 Recorded on rock stelae around Aswan and Sai Island (Porter and Moss 1937: 245, 254).
- 85 O'Connor 1987: 128–30; W.V. Davies 2001. Cf. Kozloff on whether the king went even further into the Bayuda desert (2012a: 78).
- 86 Presumably the successor of Amenhotep xx, whom Amenhotep III may have inherited from his father.

- 87 Semna stela BM EA657 (Porter and Moss 1952: 155; Helck 1955–58: 1659–61[564]); cf. W.V. Davies 2012.
- 88 Topozada 1988; cf. Berman 1998: 10 n. 52.
- 89 Blankenberg-van Delden 1969: 18, 129–33, 160–61.
- 90 AL 29 (Moran 1992: 93).
- 91 Blankenberg-van Delden 1969: 18, 134–45.
- 92 Perhaps in the area of Akhmim—see Yoyotte 1959.
- 93 These include Steward of the House of the Aten Ramose xxii (TT46—Helck 1955–58: 1995[753]) and Scribe of the Overseer of the Double Granary of the Aten Hatiay (burial at Thebes-West—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 672). Bouriant (1885: 52–53) notes “trois ou quatre” in the Bulaq Museum belonging to “prêtres d’Aten” that he dates to the time of Amenhotep III or Thutmose IV; however, these cannot presently be identified.
- 94 See, conveniently, Giles 1970: 120–23, although cf. ch. 1 n. 176.
- 95 Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2013: 371–72; it may be noted that Borchardt (1917: 18–22) proposed that a block bearing the full didactic name and a figure named as Amenhotep IV (Berlin ÄM2072—our fig. 74) had actually been carved under Amenhotep III and usurped. However, Nims (1973: 185) subsequently was able to verify that this—and associated blocks still at Karnak—were all Amenhotep IV originals.
- 96 Hayes 1951; Leahy 1978.
- 97 Brussels E.1103 (Porter and Moss 1972: 444).
- 98 Kozloff 2012a: 110–15, following many of the arguments of Goedicke 1992b.
- 99 AL 11, ll.5–15 (Moran 1992: 21).
- 100 Cf. Panagiotakopulu 2004.
- 101 For a convenient list of records of this and subsequent jubilees, see Hornung and Staehelin 2006: 25–27.
- 102 On the other hand, Rameses II later undergoes a post-jubilee deification that seems in many ways to follow Amenhotep III’s prototype (Habachi 1969; Johnson 1998: 88 n. 142); cf. ch. 2, n. 166.
- 103 Cf. Johnson 1998: 87.
- 104 Johnson 1998: 88.
- 105 Cf. Bickel 2002.
- 106 Cf. Johnson 1998: 86–87, citing PT222.
- 107 Luxor Museum (El-Saghir 1992: 21–27).
- 108 For example, a statuette of the king as Neferhotep in the MFA (1970.636—

- Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 198–99[20]).
- 109 An interpretation of a number of statues showing the king with a distended belly—for example, MMA 30.8.74 (Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 204–206[23]), Cairo JE33900–1 + JE59880 (Porter and Moss 1972: 452; Forbes 1990; Freed, Markowitz, and D’Auria 1999: 204[11–12]).
- 110 Brussels E.5188 (Porter and Moss 1972: 244; van Rinsveld 1991); cf. Radwan 1975. For other examples of such “bird-men,” going back at least to the time of Thutmose III, see Hardwick and Riggs 2010: 115–17.
- 111 Cf. Johnson 1998: 90.
- 112 Turin C.566 (Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 402–403[105]).
- 113 Epigraphic Survey 1980: pl. 40; cf. Morkot 1986: 1–2. For Nefertiti’s representation smiting an enemy, see, conveniently, Dodson 2009: fig. 30.
- 114 Porter and Moss 1952: 350; Gardiner and Peet 1952–55: 165–69.
- 115 This group of material is being published by Tom Hardwick.
- 116 Cf. Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 73–115, including a suggestion that the building program was conceived on a nationwide, cosmic level; cf. O’Connor 1998a: 148–54.
- 117 Porter and Moss 1934: 31; Habachi 1957: 102–107; Tietze and Grell 2007.
- 118 Porter and Moss 1934: 65–66; Fairman 1960.
- 119 Moursi and Balbousch 1975: 86–89.
- 120 For the king’s Memphite building program, see Garnett 2011.
- 121 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 840, 843–44, 863; Morkot 1990.
- 122 Porter and Moss 1934: 74.
- 123 Porter and Moss 1934: 112–15; Kemp 1978; cf. Shaw 2011.
- 124 Kessler 1981: 215–22.
- 125 Bailey, Davies, and Spencer 1982: 6–10; Spencer, Bailey, and Burnett 1983: 5–7; Spencer 1989: 33–34, 64, 71.
- 126 Porter and Moss 1937: 42.
- 127 Porter and Moss 1934: 185.
- 128 Porter and Moss 1939: 81.
- 129 Cf. O’Connor 1998a: 154–71 on the possible conceptual underpinnings of Amenhotep III’s Theban schemes.
- 130 Graham and Bunbury 2005: 19.
- 131 Cf. Johnson 1998: 69, n. 36.
- 132 F. Traunecker 1986; Johnson 1998: 69.
- 133 Porter and Moss 1972: 85; Johnson 1998: 85.
- 134 Schaden 1987: 13–14; Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 102.

- 135 Azim 1982; cf. Johnson 1998: 70 n. 41.
- 136 For the artistic criteria used in dating Amenhotep III's constructions, see p. 72.
- 137 Porter and Moss 1972: 1–9; Gabolde and Rondot 1993; 1996.
- 138 Porter and Moss 1972: 272.
- 139 Cf. Bryan 2010.
- 140 For this and other aspects of the construction of the temple, see Johnson 1998: 67–68.
- 141 Epigraphic Survey 1994, 1998.
- 142 Cf. Babled 1993–94.
- 143 But cf. Shubert 2004's suggestion that they were a homosexual couple; however, the text on BM EA826 (see next note) seems best interpreted as indicating (as was previously considered) that they were indeed twins (see Baines and McNamara 2007: 72).
- 144 Stelae EA826, Cairo CG34051 (Malek 2012: 22–23[803-045-464], 55–56[803-048-023]); funerary cones (Davies and Macadam 1957: [407–408]; Dibley and Lipkin 2009: 133); statues Rome, Università La Sapienza and MMA 23.8 (Baines and McNamara 2007: 76–77).
- 145 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 778–81; Tokyo 1993; Lacovara 1994; 2008; Koltsida 2007a; 2007b; and Shoukry 2010. It has been suggested (Goedicke 1992b: 101–102; and Kozloff 2012a: 119) that the foundation of this complex on a virgin desert site across the river from the main settlements at Thebes was a reaction to the presence of plague in the country in the middle years of the reign (see p. 52).
- 146 Koltsida 2007a.
- 147 Johnson 1998: 76–77.
- 148 Tokyo 1983; Watanabe and Saki 1986; Yoshimura 1995.
- 149 Kemp 1977.
- 150 Porter and Moss 1972: 449–54; Sourouzian and Stadelmann 2005a; 2005b; Sourouzian 2010; 2011; Sourouzian et al. 2004; 2006a–c; 2007.
- 151 Stela Leiden V.14. Funerary cones and dockets from Malqata (Helck 1955–58: 1910–11[705], 1954[735–36]).
- 152 Funerary cone Berlin ÄM8744 (Helck 1955–58: 1941[730]).
- 153 In that they were sanctuaries of Amun and Re, as well as the monarchs themselves, rather than simply the dead king as had been the case earlier.
- 154 Cf. Johnson 1998: 83.
- 155 Cf. Bryan 1997, 2005 on the potential conceptual basis underlying

Amenhotep III's sculpture program.

- 156 Johnson 1998: 72–75; Strauß-Seeber 1998.
- 157 Bakry 1971; Betrò 2006.
- 158 Perhaps begun by Thutmose IV (Porter and Moss 1937: 188–89; Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 79–82).
- 159 Demolished in ad 1822 (Porter and Moss 1937: 227–29). There is some debate as to whether the temple should be dated early in the reign (Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 75) or toward its end (Johnson 1998: 79, 85).
- 160 The paintings from the inner hall of this are now in Cairo (Porter and Moss 1952: 63–64; Ullmann 2013; forthcoming).
- 161 Porter and Moss 1952: 83; Badawy 1968: 289–90.
- 162 Porter and Moss 1952: 170–72; Schiff Giorgini 1998–2003; Murnane 2000; Fisher 2012.
- 163 On this chronology, see Dorman 2009: 80–82, contradicting that set out in Schiff Giorgini 1998–2003: III, 31–33.
- 164 Cf. Goedicke 1992b: 52–69; Bickel 2002.
- 165 Referencing the principal element of Amenhotep III's Horus name.
- 166 The latter proposed by Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 104–10; cf. O'Conner 1998a: 146–48. It may be noted that the later Nubian divinized forms of Rameses II have similar iconographic elements, including ram's horns at Abu Simbel and the disc and lunar crescent at Wadi el-Sebua and Gerf Husein (cf. Habachi 1969). On the other hand, ram's horns are found in representations of kings in other than fully deified contexts (see Wildung 1977b: 2–11).
- 167 BM EA2, bearing texts of both these kings; its companion, EA1, only names Amenhotep III and differs artistically (Porter and Moss 1952: 212).
- 168 For other Amenhotep III sculpture at Barkal, see Dunham 1970: 17, 19, 25, 27, 28.
- 169 Porter and Moss 1952: 166; Morkot 2012c.
- 170 Cf. Morkot 1986.
- 171 Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 110.
- 172 Valbelle 2008.
- 173 Johnson 1990: 26–31; 1998: 80–85.
- 174 Johnson 1996; 1998: 91–92.
- 175 Griffith in Petrie 1892: 41; Carter and Mace 1923–33: III, 3–4; Borchardt 1933; Pendlebury 1935: 10–14; Fairman 1951: 152–57; 1960; Aldred 1959; 1968: 100–16. The most elaborate formulation of the evidence is Giles

- 2001: 25–137, including the stylistic issues of Johnson 1996 and attempting to refute the substantive contrary arguments to date.
- 176 For the principal arguments and references to the mid-1970s, see Murnane 1977a: 123–69, 231–33.
- 177 Cf. Romano 1990.
- 178 E.g., Borchardt 1933; Martín Valentín 1998b.
- 179 For a detailed discussion of the issues raised by TT192, see Dorman 2009; he also points out that the chronology of the construction of the temple of Soleb, with Amenhotep IV's completion of the decoration of the portico, including the usurpation of his father's already-carved cartouches, supports the view that his accession only followed Amenhotep III's death.
- 180 For example, BM EA57399 (Kozloff and Bryan 1992: 213–14[29]; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999: 254[169]—fig. 67) and the lintel of the tomb-chapel TA1 (fig. 66).
- 181 Petrie 1892: pl. xxxvi[XVIII]. The graffito is now in a very poor condition and essentially illegible. For a full discussion, see Dodson 2009a.
- 182 *Pace* a number of attempts to explain it away as a back-reference to the god Amun or a scribal error.
- 183 Porter and Moss 1972: 347–48[17–19]; 106[328]; 1939: 3[34–37].
- 184 Porter and Moss 1972: 450–51.
- 185 Edel 1966; Cline 1987; Cline and Stannish 2011; cf. Haider 1984, 2008.
- 186 Cline 1987: 8–10.
- 187 Cline 1990.
- 188 Lilyquist 1999.
- 189 Cf. Kelder 2009. Before the potential local manufacture of the plaques became apparent it was suggested that they and the E_N list might be evidence for a formal diplomatic “tour” of the Aegean on behalf of the Egyptian king (Hankey 1981).
- 190 See references in Cline 1987: 13–16.
- 191 To judge from the source of the clay used to make the letters from that polity (Goren, Finkelstein, and Na'aman 2004); see also Merrillees 1987.
- 192 For an excellent summary of their discovery and dispersion, see Mynářová 2007: 11–39.
- 193 Or to be more precise, Peripheral Akkadian: for this see Mynářová 2007: 40–91.
- 194 Bryce 2003.
- 195 AL 33–40 (Moran 1992: 104–13).

- 196 Or even Tutankhaten.
- 197 AL 17, 19–21, and 23–25 (Moran 1992: xxxiv–xv, 41–50, 63–84).
- 198 On the course of Egypto-Mitannian relations under Amenhotep III, cf. the suggestions of Kahn 2011.
- 199 Cf. Moran 1992: 62 n. 2.
- 200 AL 1–6 (Moran 1992: 1–12).
- 201 AL 26 (Moran 1992: 85).
- 202 On whether the Babylonian tone was actually a diplomatic tactic, cf. Westbrook 2000.
- 203 AL 3 (Moran 1992: 8).
- 204 AL 31–32 (Moran 1992: 101–103)
- 205 For discussion, see Bryce 1989 and Cordani 2011a. Shuppiluliuma’s death fell some six years after that of Tutankhamun (although others have argued Akhenaten: see Dodson 2009b: 89, *pace* the arguments of Stempel 2007 and Theis 2011—on which see ch. 5 n. 14), from which all calculations work, based on a range of Hittite sources. Gromova (2007: 278) argues for Shuppiluliuma having been Tushratta’s opponent on the basis of no other Hittite king being mentioned in this context in the preamble to the much later Shuppiluliuma–Shattiwaza treaty (see pp. 103–104).
- 206 For a full discussion, see Gromova 2007.
- 207 There is also a potential statement (to be dated around this time—AL 75 (Moran 1992: 145–46) that a number of former Mitannian vassal states in the north of Syria had fallen into Hittite hands—although there are doubts as to whether it is indeed Mitanni that is mentioned, as the spelling of the word in question is non-standard (AL 75—Moran 1992: 145–46, n. 8).
- 208 AL 68–95, 60–62 (see Moran 1992: xxxv–vi n. 127, 137–69, 131–34).
- 209 Cf. Giles 1970: 167–95.
- 210 “Year 22” (sc. of Amenhotep III) is also possible epigraphically, but there is no other evidence that the Amarna archive might include material prior to the last decade of Amenhotep III’s reign.
- 211 AL 254 (Moran 1992: 307–308).
- 212 AL 252–56 (Moran 1992: 305–308).
- 213 AL 244, 287 (Moran 1992: 298–99, 303–304, 328).
- 214 AL 245 (Moran 1992: 299–300).
- 215 AL 250 (Moran 1992: 303).
- 216 Jar labels from Malqata (Hayes 1951: 87; Aldred 1988: pl. 68).
- 217 Although anything significantly beyond an incomplete Year 39 would imply

that he was no longer resident at Malqata during a hypothetical Year 40 or beyond, given that every year between 28 and 38 is attested in Malqata documents, as is Year 1 of (presumably) Amenhotep IV (see Hayes 1951: fig. 16).

- 218 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 547–50; L.P. Brock 1992; Kondo 1992; 1995; Kondo and Yoshimura, eds. 2004; Yoshimura and Kondo 1995; 2004.
- 219 Although it appears that some, if not all, the decoration of royal tombs down to this point in the Eighteenth Dynasty was actually carried out as part of the funerary ceremonies (see Romer 1975: 330, 341).
- 220 Although it is possible that they derive from prepositioned items of equipment, placed in the tomb soon after their manufacture to await the interment.
- 221 Cairo CG61040 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 555; Piacentini and Orsenigo 2004: 176–79, 204–207).
- 222 Cairo CG61036 (Porter and Moss 1960–64: 555; Piacentini and Orsenigo 2004: 176–79, 204–207).
- 223 Stephen Buckley, lecture at Ancient World Tours Conference, University College London, 18 August 2012.

Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 Murnane 1976 (for the stelae, see p. 111).
- 2 Von Beckerath 1999: 133–43; interestingly, Thutmose II, Hatshepsut, and Amenhotep II never seem to have used prenomen epithets at all.
- 3 An alleged appearance of Tiye’s cartouche alongside the names of her son under the rays of the Aten in the Wadi Abu Qwai (e.g., Giles 1970: 48, on the basis of Lepsius 1849–59: pl. 91g) is actually a misreading of the erased name of Nefertiti (Redford and Redford 1989: 46, n. 9); cf. p. 102.
- 4 AL 26 (Moran 1992: 84–86).
- 5 Cf. ch. 2 n. 15 for a view that gives her a special affinity with the Mitannians.
- 6 As was long ago noted by Aldred (1968: 208–209; 1988: 193–94).
- 7 Granite offering table (Adelaide—Petrie 1891: pl. xxiv[7]), box lid (Berlin ÄM17587—Porter and Moss 1934: 112–13), and three wooden stelae (including Berlin ÄM17959, 17182—Porter and Moss 1934: 113; Helck 1955–58: 1769[615, 616]; cf. J.R. Harris 1975: 100–101).
- 8 Porter and Moss 1934: 237; Kemp et al. 2013: 61, fig. 2.17; there seems no

reason to follow Petrie (1894: 4) and later writers (e.g., Giles 1970: 47–48) in imputing deep political significance to this fact, nor the memorializing of Amenhotep III just noted.

- 9 The couple had had at least two daughters prior to Year 5, and given the important dualities behind kingship and queenship (cf. Troy 1986) it would seem unlikely that the king will have long remained unwed after his accession (*pace* M. Gabolde 1998: 12–14).
- 10 Dodson 2009b: 99.
- 11 See pp. 167 on how such a conclusion might relate to the DNA analysis of Tutankhamun’s mummy.
- 12 On a debate on the correct reading of the name initiated by Sethe 1905: 135, see N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: 18 n. 1; Aldred 1968: 105–106; Hari 1976; Dodson 2009b: 98–99.
- 13 TA6 (Panehsy—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: II, pl. v, viii), TA7 (Parennefer—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, 4, pl. iv), TA8 (Tutu—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, 10, pl. xvi), TA14 (May—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: V, pl. iii, v), TA20 (anonymous—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: V, pl. xv), and TA25 (Ay himself—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, pl. xxvi).
- 14 Dodson 2009b: 114–17.
- 15 Cairo CG61072 (G.E. Smith 1912: 40–42).
- 16 Hawass et al. 2010.
- 17 Schiff Giorgini 1998–2003: V, pl. 20–30; Murnane 2000: 18–19.
- 18 Cf. Dorman’s remarks (2009: 80–82) on the negative implications of this for the Amenhotep III/IV co-regency theory.
- 19 Later mutilated and concealed by an additional layer of masonry by Sethy I; now removed to the Open Air Museum at Karnak (Porter and Moss 1972: 59–60[177]; Sa’ad 1970: 187–89).
- 20 The gateway was subsequently demolished and its blocks used in completing the pylon itself under Horemheb (Porter and Moss 1972: 186, 190–91; D.B. Redford 1976: pl. iv; 1984: pl. 4.4–5).
- 21 A section of one of these survives (Porter and Moss 1972: 190).
- 22 For a summary of this material, see Johnson 2012–13: 50–51.
- 23 Porter and Moss 1937: 249; Murnane 1995: 41[13]; also stela NMS A.1956.347, from Hierakonpolis (Aldred 1959: 19–22).
- 24 For example, D.B. Redford 1984: pl. 4.4.
- 25 Chappaz 1983: 18, 33–34; on the phasing of the introduction of cartouches, cf. D.B. Redford 1976: 54–55.

- 26 Gunn 1923: 168–70.
- 27 The literature is vast: for a recent discussion and references, see Robins 2003. See also Manniche 2010: 85–115.
- 28 Porter and Moss 1937: 249; Murnane 1995: 129.
- 29 On which there is again a vast literature, with little hope of resolution in the absence of consensus on the question of the survival of Akhenaten's body (cf. appendix 4).
- 30 A feature of other revolutionary artistic movements: cf. the shift from punk rock to new wave in music in the late 1970s.
- 31 Cf. Ertman 2009.
- 32 Porter and Moss 1972: 191. The matching lower block is still in situ in Pylon X at Karnak (Nims 1973: 186).
- 33 Also very early, and perhaps otherwise in classical style, is a representation in the tomb of Parennefer (TT188—see p. 101).
- 34 D.B. Redford 1984: pl. 4.6.
- 35 Cf. Dodson 2009b: 67.
- 36 Cottevieille-Giraudet 1936; Porter and Moss 1972: 20, 24, 37, 39–40, 53, 182–83, 190–91, 211, 244, 296–97, 339, 460, 540; Smith and Redford 1976; Lauffray 1980; D.B. Redford 1984: 63–71; 1988; Vergnienx 1999. It should be noted that a number of military scenes originally attributed to Amenhotep IV's buildings (see Schulman in D.B. Redford 1988: 53–79) have now been identified as deriving from a temple of Tutankhamun (Johnson 2009).
- 37 Van Dijk 2008.
- 38 Porter and Moss 1937: 220.
- 39 D.B. Redford 1984: 71.
- 40 D.B. Redford 1976: 84–85; 1984: 83.
- 41 Porter and Moss 1972: 253–54; D.B. Redford 1976; 1977; 1981a; 1981b; 1983; 1984: 86–94; 1994; Redford et al. 1991: 85–89.
- 42 D.B. Redford 1984: 72–78.
- 43 Porter and Moss 1972: 208–15.
- 44 D.B. Redford 1984: figs. 6–7.
- 45 Cf. Smith and Redford 1976: 84.
- 46 D.B. Redford 1984: 79–82, figs. 6–7, pl. 4.11–15.
- 47 Cf. Gohary 1992: 30–31.
- 48 D.B. Redford 1984: figs. 10–11.
- 49 Johnson 2012–13. The fact that the statues had been recut was first noted by Kozloff (2010; 2012b), but assuming that the original owner was

Amenhotep III

- 50 See Manniche 2010 for a full documentation and discussion of the sandstone figures.
- 51 But not enough to support D.B. Redford's suggestion (1984: 102) that they alternated with the double-crowned examples.
- 52 See Gohary 1992 for a full study; see also Hornung and Staehelin 2006: 27–28.
- 53 Gohary 1992: 31–32.
- 54 For example, Aldred 1959: 30.
- 55 Gunn 1923: 170–72.
- 56 Gohary 1992: 32–33.
- 57 Cf. Rocchi 2003.
- 58 Porter and Moss 1952: 172–74; Morkot 2012b.
- 59 Damaged during the early 2010s.
- 60 Spence et al. 2011: 36.
- 61 Porter and Moss 1952: 173–74.
- 62 Fitzwilliam EGA.2300.1943 (Porter and Moss 1972: 296); for its potential provenance, see Gohary 1992: 219 n. 83.
- 63 Proponents of a co-regency between Amenhotep III and IV (cf. pp. 74–76) would see the various phases running in parallel.
- 64 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 251; Grimm and Schlögl 2005; cf. “Review of Grimm and Schlögl 2005” 2008; Porter and Moss 1960–64: 293–95; S. Redford 1995; 1999–2000; A.F. Redford 2006: 8–87.
- 65 Sourouzian 2013: 424–25; for blocks subsequently taken to Karnak for reuse, see Anus 1971.
- 66 Now in the Petrie and Berlin museums. While the Petrie documents were actually excavated at Kahun, the Berlin ones were purchased from a dealer who stated that they came from Medinet Gurob.
- 67 pBerlin P9784 (Gardiner 1906: 28–35; Murnane 1995: 43–45[19-A]).
- 68 pPetrie UC38177 (Griffith 1898: 98, pl. xxxix; Gardiner 1906: 35–30; Murnane 1995: 45–46[19-B-C]).
- 69 pBerlin P9785 (Gardiner 1906: 38–43; Murnane 1995: 46–47[19-D]).
- 70 Unlike a superficially similar case in the late Twentieth Dynasty, where the context makes the likelihood of the (criminal) relationships seen there enduring in excess of a decade highly unlikely (see Dodson 2012: 5, 10).
- 71 Porter and Moss 1952: 333; Goyon 1957: 106–107; Murnane 1995: 67[35-A]; Hikade 2006: 154–56.

- 72 Once mistaken for a linked mention of Amenhotep IV and Tiye—see n. 3, above.
- 73 Porter and Moss 1952: 328; Redford and Redford 1989: 44–48[6–8]; Murnane 1995: 69[35-B]. It may be noted that even in this remote location, the king’s prenomen and Nefertiti’s name have been erased, although the Amunciting nomen has been left untouched.
- 74 Petrie UC32782–3 (Griffith 1898: 91–92, pl.38; Murnane 1995: 50–51[22]).
- 75 AL 7–14 (Moran 1992: 12–37).
- 76 Cf. AL 11 and the dowry inventories in AL 13 and 14.
- 77 AL 10.
- 78 It is doubtful whether she is also the “Mayatu” in AL 11, who is accused of showing no concern for Burnaburiash and not helping to restore him to health; this would imply some Egyptian on the spot in Babylon.
- 79 Albright 1937: 191–92, 203 n. 1; 1940: 24 n. 6.
- 80 Nevertheless, the mention of Mayati in the correspondence of Abimilki of Tyre (AL 155—Moran 1992: 241–42) may well date to the last years of the reign (cf. ch. 4 n. 110).
- 81 Cf. ch. 2 n. 202.
- 82 AL 27 (Moran 1992: 86–90). This docket has been much discussed, as it has also been argued that it should be read Year [1]2 (on the probable correctness of a Year 2 reading, see Fritz 1991), and thus an argument in favor of a co-regency between the king and his father, since from the context of the letter it is clear that it was written not long after Amenhotep III’s death (although cf. Moran 1992: 90 n. 19 on the nonexistence of a frequently detected reference to Amenhotep III’s funeral in the letter itself).
- 83 AL 28 (Moran 1992: 90–92).
- 84 AL 29 (Moran 1992: 92–99).
- 85 Preamble to Shuppiluliuma’s treaty with Tushratta’s son, Shattiwaza.
- 86 Gromova 2007: 279.
- 87 Cf. p. 108.
- 88 For the latest edition of this text, see Murnane and van Siclen 1993: 13–68.
- 89 We have *Mn*–[...]–*R*—thus certainly Menkheperre or Menkheperure.
- 90 Cf. Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 61; Stannish 2007.
- 91 Porter and Moss 1937: 230–32; Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 13–68.
- 92 A composite name not actually referring to a town mound (‘Tell’) but incorporating a corruption of the name of the modern village, el-Till, that occupies the northern part of the site. Two other settlements, Hagg Qandil

and el-Amariya, occupy the southern part of the site.

- 93 Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 11–13, 14; the presence of a small tablet (L) adjacent to M is of uncertain purpose, but clearly linked to the other boundary stelae.
- 94 Wells 1987; 1989.
- 95 Cf. Assmann 1990; Dakin 1998.
- 96 Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 51[n].
- 97 Cf. Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 166–68.

Notes to Chapter Four

- 1 Not, as early interpreters took it, that Akhenaten himself would never leave the city—contradicted by the provision for the return of his and the royal family’s bodies for burial if they died elsewhere; cf. Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 169–71.
- 2 Porter and Moss 1934: 230–32; Murnane and Van Siclen 1993; Fenwick 2006.
- 3 See Kemp and Garfi 1993: 39–110 and Kemp 2012a, with references, for a detailed account of the city, supplemented by latest updates at http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/index.shtml
- 4 For the latter see Weatherhead 2007.
- 5 Kemp 2012b: 9–26.
- 6 Hanke 1978.
- 7 J.D. Cooney 1965; Roeder 1969; Hanke 1978; Spencer 1989: 26–28, 46–48.
- 8 Cf. Thompson 2004.
- 9 Philips 2004; Bodziony 2007; Thompson [2012].
- 10 For a detailed study of one such area, see Kemp and Stevens 2010.
- 11 Kemp 1995: 448–52.
- 12 Kemp 1995: 433–38.
- 13 Kemp 1995: 416–33.
- 14 Unfortunately this area is now largely under cultivation, which has already destroyed the Maru-Aten, now only known from 1920s excavation reports.
- 15 Kemp 1995: 438–44.
- 16 Ikram 1989.
- 17 Schaden 1979.
- 18 G.T. Martin 1974; 1989.
- 19 And often accorded the status of ‘fact’—cf. G.T. Martin 1989: 43–45.

- 20 J.R. Harris 2004; van Dijk 2009; cf. Dodson 2009b: 22–23.
- 21 Enough of the labels of both figures survive to indicate that this is indeed the case with Meketaten—cf. van Dijk 2009 on the impossibility of the various alternative reconstructions of her baby’s label text.
- 22 Cf. G.T. Martin 1986; Hornung 1999b: 95–104. Coffins from the South Tombs Cemetery have texts giving the Aten as the provider of the usual nourishments of the deceased. On the other hand, the Four Sons of Horus are present on another coffin from there (Kemp 2012a: 261–62); cf. pp. 126–27 on non-Atenist religion at Amarna.
- 23 Porter and Moss 1934: 219–30.
- 24 For example, TA8 (Tutu), TA14 (May), and TA25 (Ay).
- 25 For example, TA4 (Meryre i) and TA6 (Panehsy).
- 26 Murnane 1995: 113–16; Grandet 1995.
- 27 Kemp et al. 2013.
- 28 Porter and Moss 1934: 209; Weatherhead and Kemp 2007; on the cemeteries associated with the village, see Weatherhead and Kemp 2007: 407–14.
- 29 Cairo JE46954 (Porter and Moss 1934: 209).
- 30 Shannon 1987.
- 31 On the other hand, amulets of the traditional household deities had wide currency (cf. Györy 1998), while one of the South Tombs Cemetery coffins bears the Four Sons of Horus—contrasting with Atenist invocations on others (n. 22, just above).
- 32 On the potential actual meaning of this formulation, cf. Gunn 1923; Assmann 1984: 245; 1992: 164–65; 1993: 33; Hornung 1999b: 76–78.
- 33 Mut’s name is still intact in one scene in TA25 (Ay—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, pl. xxvi) and two in TA14 (May—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: V, pl. iii, v), while it has been erased in TA7 (Parennefer—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, 4, pl. iv); in TA6 (Panehsy—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: II, pl. v, viii), TA8 (Tutu—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: VI, 10, pl. xvi), and TA20 (anonymous—N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: V, pl. xv) Mutnedjmet’s name and titles have been largely destroyed, leaving the status of the Mut vulture unknown in these cases.
- 34 Davis 1910: 14; unfortunately this section of the text is only available in hieroglyphic type, with no extant drawing or photograph allowing it to be collated.
- 35 For further discussion, see Dodson 2009b: 46–47.
- 36 Although the goddess Maat’s name came to be spelled out, avoiding the use

of her ideogram.

- 37 Cairo CG34183; Porter and Moss 1972: 52–53.
- 38 There is also a rather unexpected attack on ‘fecundity figures,’ the portly offering-bearing genii, in certain contexts (Eaton-Krauss 1988: 10).
- 39 Dodson 1999: 61–62.
- 40 Montserrat 2000: 36–37.
- 41 On the basis that she only appears in certain scenes, and on a much smaller scale than her three elder sisters.
- 42 For a summary of the appearance of the princesses in the various Amarna tomb-chapels, see N. de G. Davies 1903–1908: II, 6–7.
- 43 Cf. Dodson 2009b: 13. Two of the three youngest girls are shown on a fragment of painted pavement from the King’s House that once showed the entire royal family (Ashmolean 1893.1 + Petrie various—Porter and Moss 1934: 199; Weatherhead 2007: 91–138).
- 44 Now in an SCA storeroom at the site (Roeder 1969: pl. cv [56-VIII A], cvi[831-VIII C]; Hawass 2009).
- 45 For example, D.B. Redford 1978–79 (potentially a more distant relation) and Allen 2009 (a son of Smenkhkare).
- 46 See the discussion in Dodson 2009b: 16–17; on the DNA evidence for Tutankhamun’s parentage, see appendix 4.
- 47 A convenient summary of facts and theories about Kiya is to be found in Kramer 2003.
- 48 She always uses *ḥꜣt*, rather than *wrt*; Nefertiti is occasionally *ḥmt-nsw-ḥꜣt* rather than the usual *-wrt* (Reeves 1978).
- 49 See Reeves 1988: 91 n. 4.
- 50 Cf. Quiring 1960; Manniche 1975; van Dijk 1997; D.B. Redford (1984: 150) has also suggested Tadukhepa’s aunt, Gilukhepa; cf. Helck 1984. Birrell 1987 puts forward a case for Ay being Kiya’s father.
- 51 The over-cut signs and images were long mistakenly believed to belong to Nefertiti (Kiya’s existence was not noted in print until 1959), leading to a long-propounded view that she had fallen into disgrace—still promulgated in popular works (and by tour guides) long after the true reading of the palimpsest name and titles had been noted for the first time by Perepelkin (1978: 58–73—originally published in Russian in 1966), seconded by Harris 1974a.
- 52 Krauss 1986; M. Gabolde 2009. There remains debate as to whether the coffin used for this burial (Cairo JE39627 &c) was also originally made for

- Kiya (contrast the conclusions of Allen 1988: 121–26 with Grimm 2001a). On the identification of the king buried in the coffin, cf. Dodson 2009b: 41–42, 76, 78, and pp. 161–67 of this book.
- 53 Although others have made more ambitious claims for Kiya’s later career, for example, Perepelkin 1978: 108–30.
- 54 Petrie 1894: pl. xxv[95].
- 55 Van Dijk 1997: 36–37, on the basis of a block from Ashmunein that includes an epithet only apparently adopted by Akhenaten after his Nubian campaign of Year 12 (for which see p. 135).
- 56 See pp. 143–44 and Dodson 2009b: 29–35.
- 57 Hanke 1978: 190–92 and *passim*. For other potential depictions with a daughter, see J.R. Harris 1974a: 30 n. 6.
- 58 Cf. p. 45 for a suggestion that she might be Baketaten, usually identified as a daughter of Amenhotep III and Tiye.
- 59 Although issues of wall space make this a potentially dangerous argument.
- 60 Hanke 1978: 142–45.
- 61 Hanke 1978: 150–54; cf. M. Gabolde 1998: 121–22 n. 997.
- 62 The latter is the view of Helck 1984: 21.
- 63 Dodson 2009b: 40.
- 64 Especially Roeder 1969: pl. 19[234-VI], which preserves on a single block *s3t-nsw n ḥt.f mrt.f ḥnḥ.s-n-p3-[’Itn-t3-šrt] ms n s3t-nsw ḥnḥ.s n p3-’Itn*. See Hanke 1978: fig. 53 for its original palimpsest text.
- 65 But cf. Murnane and Van Siclen 1993: 176–77. It has often been asserted that the second daughter Meketaten died in childbirth and was thus also seemingly impregnated by her father, but see pp. 118–19 for an alternate assessment of the evidence in this case.
- 66 But on the basis of alleged evidence that actually referred to Kiya: see n. 51.
- 67 Cf. Loeben 1986; 1999.
- 68 See pp. 143–46.
- 69 On the basis of a graffito discovered in a quarry at Deir Abu Hinnis, ten kilometers north of Amarna, in 2012 (van der Perre [2012]).
- 70 Porter and Moss 1934: 206.
- 71 Porter and Moss 1934: 224.
- 72 He is presumably the vizier depicted in the tomb-chapel of the police chief Mahu (TA9).
- 73 Porter and Moss 1934: 227.
- 74 Porter and Moss 1934: 224.

- 75 Porter and Moss 1934: 214.
- 76 Porter and Moss 1934: 222–23.
- 77 Porter and Moss 1934: 228–30.
- 78 Porter and Moss 1934: 228.
- 79 Porter and Moss 1934: 225. He seems to have fallen into disgrace, but it has been suggested that he was the same man who became treasurer under Tutankhamun and died under Horemheb (cf. Dodson 2009b: 80).
- 80 Porter and Moss 1934: 224.
- 81 Porter and Moss 1934: 225.
- 82 Porter and Moss 1934: 219–21.
- 83 Porter and Moss 1934: 221–22.
- 84 Porter and Moss 1934: 223–24. Probably originally of Memphis, son of Amenhotep-Huy xxi and owner of TT136 (see p. 101). For other material attributable to him, see Helck 1958: 485[15].
- 85 Porter and Moss 1934: 211–14.
- 86 Porter and Moss 1934: 217–19.
- 87 Porter and Moss 1934: 214–17.
- 88 Porter and Moss 1934: 61, 63; Habachi 1971; http://guardians.net/hawass/news/excavation_in_ain_shams_ancient.htm
- 89 These include material naming Smenkhkare and some referable to a possible ‘sunshade’ of Ankhesenpaaten (Porter and Moss 1974–81: 839; Löhr 1975; Malek 1996; 1997: 95–99; Pasquali 2007; Angenot 2008).
- 90 Porter and Moss 1974–81: 666–67; Raven and van Walsem 2014.
- 91 Gabra 1931.
- 92 El-Masry 2002.
- 93 Porter and Moss 1952: 73; Johnson 2012: 92.
- 94 Valbelle 2006; Johnson 2012: 93.
- 95 Porter and Moss 1952: 180–84; Morkot 2012a.
- 96 Macadam 1955: 12–14, 28–44.
- 97 No traces of the textually attested Thutmoside temples have yet been identified.
- 98 Kendall 2009; Johnson 2012: 93; the blocks used were largely undecorated, but as *talatat* their date is difficult to doubt. A number were subsequently decorated by Horemheb, Rameses I, and Rameses II.
- 99 From Amada (Cairo CG41806) and Buhen (UPMAA E16022A–B + Durham 1964/188 + 1964/213) (Porter and Moss 1952: 73, 130; H.S. Smith 1976: 124–29[1595]; Murnane 1995: 101–102).

- 100 Schulman 1982, although his identification of Karnak battle scenes as belonging to Akhenaten has now been shown to be in error: ch. 3 n. 36.
- 101 For references, see Kelder 2009: 341 n. 12.
- 102 Kelder 2009.
- 103 Although evidence for subsequent contacts through to the Mycenaean palatial collapse at the end of the thirteenth century is mixed: cf. Kelder 2009: 347.
- 104 In this case, two letters may have been discarded in error: AL 9, apparently to Tutankhaten, and AL 41, perhaps to Neferneferuaten (Dodson 2009b: 55–56).
- 105 AL 15 and 16 (Moran 1992: 37–41).
- 106 AL 9 (Moran 1992: 18–19).
- 107 Certainly to Akhenaten, and not to Ay as was once suggested (see Moran 1992: 39 n. 1): leaving aside any issues on the reading of the broken name of the Egyptian king, one can conceive of no mechanism by which a letter of Ay's reign could have become part of the Amarna archive.
- 108 The two kings of that name were probably contemporaries of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, respectively.
- 109 AL 10 (Moran 1992: 19–20).
- 110 The mention of Mayati in the correspondence of Abimilki of Tyre (AL 155 —Moran 1992: 241–42) is also of uncertain chronological import. The letter implies that the city of Tyre was dedicated to her, but the issue is whether this reflected Meryetaten's enhanced status in the latter years of Akhenaten's reign, or whether it had been dedicated to celebrate her birth as the king's first child.
- 111 AL 162 (Moran 1992: 248–51).
- 112 AL 161 (Moran 1992: 247–48; on Aziru's Egyptian sojourn see Cordani 2011b).
- 113 Murnane 1990; Dodson 2009b: 53–60, 89–94.
- 114 On whose parentage, cf. p. 45. Baketaten is mentioned on a wine-jar docket dated to Year 13 (Pendlebury 1951: pl. lxxxvi[42]).
- 115 Berlin ÄM 21834+17852 (Porter and Moss 1934: 113; Wildung 2001).
- 116 Porter and Moss 1934: 202–203; Seyfried [2012].
- 117 Pendlebury 1933: 117–18; Bednarski 2009.
- 118 The 'international' nature of the event makes unlikely Schulman's suggestion (1982) that it might be the result of the Year 12 Nubian campaign.

119 For a discussion of potential options see Dodson 2009b: 11–13.

Notes to Chapter Five

- 1 For a more detailed discussion of the material contained in this chapter, see Dodson 2009b.
- 2 For her fragmentary sarcophagus, see Raven 1994; E.C. Brock 1996. For her probable mourning scene, see G.T. Martin 1989: pl. 25–26.
- 3 Dodson 2009b: 27–40; 2009d; 2009e.
- 4 Petrie UC410 + Cairo JE64959 (Dodson 2009c: 43–44, with references; for a rather different interpretation, see G.T. Martin 2009).
- 5 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 253[5].
- 6 See Dodson 2009b: 50, 147 nn. 110–18. Detailed documentation of the reworking of the canopic coffinette is now available in Allen 2010. For some bracelets which have also been reworked (Cairo JE62415–7), see Kamrin, Nuutinen, and El Baroudi 2010: 268–70[18–20].
- 7 Dodson 2009b: 65–68; 2011.
- 8 Cairo CG34183; CG34184 (Porter and Moss 1972: 52–53, 10).
- 9 Dodson 2009b: 66–70.
- 10 Pendlebury 1951: 12.
- 11 Dodson 2009b: 67.
- 12 Hawass et al. 2007: 163–64. This work ruled out the head trauma that had been suspected on the basis of earlier x-rays. It has also been noted by a number of commentators that large parts of the chest of the mummy—including the heart—are missing, with suggestions of death including goring by a hippopotamus and being run over and crushed by a chariot (cf. Ikram 2013).
- 13 Hawass et al. 2010: 645–46; cf. Timmann and Meyer 2010.
- 14 An attempt has been made (Stempel 2007) to bolster this second option by identifying a certain “Armaya,” mentioned in a fragmentary Hittite text, with Horemheb, the deputy of Tutankhamun, with the result that Shuppiluliuma I’s death would precede that of Tutankhamun. However, while “Armaya” might indeed be a Hittite writing of “Horemheb,” the latter is a sufficiently common name to make it impossible to rely on this fact to deny the possibility that Ankhesenamun remains a candidate to be Shuppiluliuma’s correspondent after the death of her husband.
- 15 Both KV62 and KV55 seem to have been covered and sealed by a flash

- flood not long after the final closure of KV62 (Cross 2008; 2009). For a summary of theories regarding this deposit up to 2001, see Grimm 2001b.
- 16 Aldred 1968: 140–62.
 - 17 On the presence of fragments of *shabtis* of Tiye in WV22, see Eaton-Krauss 2006. On the identification of her mummy, see p. 165.
 - 18 Dodson 2009b: 108, 117–20.
 - 19 Strudwick 1994.
 - 20 Cf. Dodson 2010.
 - 21 Dodson 2002.
 - 22 Cf. Dodson 2009b: 129.
 - 23 The extant Manethonic texts for the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties are clearly corrupt. Orus seems most likely to have been intended for Akhenaten, as his Manethonic predecessor was “Amenophis ... reputed to be Memnon and a speaking statue.”
 - 24 The modern reception of the Amarna family is discussed by Montserrat 2000.

Notes to Appendix 4

- 1 Cairo CG34002, plus fragments found in 2010 (Porter and Moss 1937: 92).
- 2 He also espoused at least one other sister, Sitdjehuty (Munich coffin fragment Munich ÄS7163 [Grimm and Schoske 1999: 2–33, 92]; Turin mummy shroud S.5051 [Porter and Moss 1960–64: 756]).
- 3 The outer coffin (Cairo JE53140—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 421) is of the ‘giant’ type only otherwise found at the beginning of the New Kingdom (the coffins of Ahhotep I and Ahmes-Nefertiry [Cairo CG61006 and 61003—Porter and Moss 1960–61: 659–60]).
- 4 She was long confounded with Meryetamun C, daughter of Thutmose III: for confirmation of the date of her tomb, see Wyzocki 1984.
- 5 Buhen stela Cairo CG34006 (Porter and Moss 1952: 141; Sethe 1906–1909: 79–81[30]).
- 6 Perhaps via the much-venerated King’s Son Ahmose-Sipairi (Bennett 1994).
- 7 Karnak colossus in front of Pylon VIII (Porter and Moss 1972: 176–77[O]; Sethe 1906–1909: 154).
- 8 Cf. Dorman 2006: 59–60 nn. 7–8.
- 9 Sanctuary of temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Porter and Moss 1972: 365–66[132–33]).

- 10 Naos fragment dated Year 4 of Thutmose I (Intro. n. 18); representation in tomb EK3 at el-Kab (Tylor and Griffith 1894: pl. x).
- 11 EK3 (Porter and Moss 1937: 179–78); chapel at Thebes-West (Porter and Moss 1972: 444–46; Snape 1985; Quirke 1990: 174).
- 12 Dorman 1988: 78–79.
- 13 Porter and Moss 1960–64: 553.
- 14 Named in the Festival Hall at Karnak in Year 24 (Porter and Moss 1972: 126[462]).
- 15 Lilyquist 2003.
- 16 Statuette of Huy (BM EA1280—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 789; Robins 1999).
- 17 Hawass et al. 2010.
- 18 Lorenzen and Willerslev 2010; Marchant 2011; 2013: 196–211.
- 19 Cairo CG51190, 51191.
- 20 Cairo CG61074.
- 21 Giles 1970: 39–43; Nail 2009; cf. Bickerstaffe 2009: 97, 185—on the basis of its mummification techniques; Harris and Hussein 1991: 237–38; J.E. Harris 1999—on the lack of similarity between its craniofacial features and those of the king’s known ancestors and descendants.
- 22 Derry 1931; Harrison 1966; Harrison, Connolly, and Abdalla 1969.
- 23 Qasr el-Aini Medical School.
- 24 Cairo CG61070 and 61072.
- 25 Still in situ (Ryan 1991: 28–30; 2007: 346).
- 26 Cairo CG61065 (cf. Dodson 2012: 247–48 n. 54).
- 27 Cairo CG61066.
- 28 Cairo CG61055.
- 29 For a discussions of the alleged identification of Hatshepsut, see Bickerstaffe 2009: 92–96 and Forbes 2012; it should be noted that the cleaning of coffin fragments from KV60 has shown that the coffin of a singer named Ty was also present in the tomb (Ryan 2010: 384–85), suggesting that the “Hatshepsut” mummy may actually be that of Ty.
- 30 Hawass et al. 2010: eAppendix [3].
- 31 For example, the coffin of Iset (Cairo JE27309a) and mummy board of Iyneferti (MMA 86.1.5 b-c), both from TT1 (temp. Sethy I/Rameses II—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 4–5; K.M. Cooney 2007: 452–54[C.22]; 435–37[C.12]), and some later archaizing-styled Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage mummy cases, for example, that of Tentqerel, from KV44 (Cairo

JE35055—Porter and Moss 1960–64: 587; Ikram and Dodson 1998: pl. xxviii) and that of Tjayasetimu (BM EA20744—Dawson and Gray 1968: pl. xa). It is also seen on various statues.

32 Cf. Mertz 2003–2004.

33 Harris and Weeks 1973: 37, 135–36.

34 Harris et al. 1979; however, issues with this analysis have subsequently been raised—see Germer 1984; Bickerstaffe 2009: 108–109.

35 Cf. Bickerstaffe 2009: 110–11 on Fletcher’s (2004) identification of CG61072 with Nefertiti.

36 Given that Akhenaten had fathered his first child at least a decade and a half before his death in his seventeenth regnal year.

37 G.E. Smith in Davis 1910: xxiii–iv; G.E. Smith 1912: 51–56; Derry 1931; Harrison 1966; Leclant and Minault-Gout 1999: 387 (reporting the work of Nasri Iskander and Eugen Strouhal); Filer 2000; 2002.

38 Hussein and Harris 1988.

39 It should also be noted that the mummy is now wholly skeletonized, and thus CAT scanning provides relatively little data as compared with a fleshed mummy.

40 Baker 2010, with a response by Gad, Selim, and Pusch 2010: 2474.

41 Reeve and Adams 1993.

42 Molleson and Cox 1993: 169.

43 Molleson and Cox 1993: 167–79.

44 For other arguments, see Phizackerley 2010.

45 She is shown alongside her sisters until at least Year 12.

46 Gabolde 2013.

47 Curiously, Hawass et al. 2010 fails to provide any data derived from the remaining ‘control’ specimens. Given that they all allegedly derive from the same family as the “Amarna” specimens, it would have been interesting to see what markers they shared with their later brethren.

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Abbreviations for periodicals used in bibliography

<i>A&L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante: Internationale Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete/Egypt and the Levant: International Journal for Egyptian Archaeology and Related Disciplines</i> (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften).
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America).
<i>AncEg</i>	<i>Ancient Egypt</i> (Manchester: Ancient Egypt Magazine).
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale/Supreme Council of Antiquities Press).
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> (North Ryde: Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (Ann Arbor: American Schools of Oriental Research).
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i> (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale).
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten).
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève</i> (Geneva: Société d'Égyptologie de Genève).
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> (Paris: Société française d'égyptologie).
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth).
<i>EgArch</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology: Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i> (London: Egypt Exploration Society).
<i>ÉNiM</i>	<i>Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne</i> (Lyon: Université Paul Valéry).
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> (Göttingen: Universität Göttingen, Ägyptologisches Seminar).
<i>Horizon</i>	<i>Horizon: The Amarna Project and Amarna Trust Newsletter</i> (Amarna Trust).

<i>JAMA</i>	<i>Journal of the American Medical Association</i> (Chicago: American Medical Association).
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (New Haven: American Oriental Society).
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> (New York: Eisenbraun).
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> (London: Egypt Exploration Fund/Society).
<i>JMAA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology</i> (Xanthi: Anthropological Museum of the International Demokritos Foundation).
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago: Chicago University Press).
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> (Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities).
<i>Kmt</i>	<i>Kmt: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt</i> (San Francisco: Kmt Communications).
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975ff).
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo</i> (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern).
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i> (Berlin: Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft).
<i>Memnonia</i>	<i>Memnonia</i> (Paris: Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum).
<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> (New York: American Research Center in Egypt).
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> (Leipzig: Hinrichs'; Berlin: Akademie Verlag).
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i> (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden).
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> (Louvain: Peeters).
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> (Paris: Librairie Edouard Champion).
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> (Hamburg: H. Buske Verlag).
<i>S&N</i>	<i>Sudan and Nubia: The Sudan Archaeological Society Bulletin</i> (London: The Sudan Archaeological Society).
<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia Aegyptica</i> (San Antonio: Van Siclen Books).
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung; Berlin: Akademie Verlag).

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Names of Egyptian kings are CAPITALIZED.

For the use of numbers and letters to distinguish homonyms, see Dodson and Hilton 2004 and p. xiv, above. Where there are widely used number and/or letters in existence they are used; where there are none, a series using lower-case Roman numerals has been begun starting at xx, unless already used.

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